Life in the New Town: The Planning and Social Implications of Morocco's New Towns Experiment

by

FATMAH M. BEHBEHANI

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in the Constructed Environment

at

The University of Virginia
School of Architecture

Spring 2021

Abstract

**Life in the New Town: The Planning and Social Implications
of Morocco's New Towns Experiment**

by
Fatmah M. Behbehani

Doctor of Philosophy in the Constructed Environment
The University of Virginia, School of Architecture

Professor Ellen M. Bassett, Chair

Spring 2021

Since the early 20th century, the new town model has been persistently offered up by planners and policy makers as the panacea for all urban ills from rapid population growth to environmental degradation. As a result, new town developments continue to affect the lives and livelihoods of millions around the world. Yet scholarship on planning and developing new towns is predominantly approached from a technical perspective, dominated by the view point of elite professionals, program evaluators and political actors involved. The lived experiences and the voices of those inhabiting a newly built environment are seldom considered. Utilizing Morocco's 2004 New Towns Program as a case study, this dissertation examines the new town as an urbanization strategy by focusing on how new town dwellers adapt and contribute to a newly constructed environment. I suggest that an understanding of the lived experiences of new town residents in two Moroccan new towns (Tamesna and Tamansourt) can provide valuable data for understanding the effects of rational planning on everyday life. I question *what constitutes a new town (medina jadida) in contemporary Morocco based on the perspectives of its everyday residents?* I find that there is a clear mismatch between what elite professionals and local residents expect from a contemporary new town in the Moroccan context—a phenomenon that has led to significant challenges in the planning, development and occupation of new towns Tamesna and Tamansourt. Moreover, the dissertation highlights how personal and collective adaptations and the emergence of an effective informal economy have contributed to the progress and development of the two studied new towns. Finally, in relation to policy, the work offers five key principles and strategies for effectively planning and managing contemporary new towns in Morocco now and in the future.

Keywords: New Towns, Housing Policy, Morocco, Conflicting Rationalities, Informality, Global South

For my loving family who continues to encourage

and support my academic journey.

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

AFD	*Agence Française de Développement* French Development Agency
ANHI	Agence Nationale de Lutte Contre l'Habitat Insalubre National Agency for Combating Unsanitary Housing
CDG	*Caisse de Dépôt et de Gestion* Deposit and Management Fund, a Moroccan state-owned company responsible for centralizing and managing long-term savings
CERF	*Centre d'Experimentation, de Recherche de Formation* Center for Experimentation, Research and Training
ERAC	*Etablissements Régionaux d'Aménagement et de Construction* Regional Agencies of Planning and Construction
EU	European Union
HAO	*Holding Al Omrane* Al Omrane Holding Co.
MATEUH	*Ministère de l'Aménagement du Territoire, de l'Environnement, de l'Urbanisme et de l'Habitat* Ministry of Territorial Planning, Environment, Urbanism and Housing
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals (UN)
MENA	Middle East and North African Region
MHPV	*Ministère de l'Habitat et de la Politique de la Ville* Ministry of Housing and Urban Policy
MHUAE	*Ministère Délégué Chargé de l'Habitat, de l'Urbanisme et de l'Aménagement de l'Espace* Ministry of Housing, Urbanism and Spatial Planning
MOI	*Ministère de L'Intérieur* Ministry of Interior
OCP	*Office Chérifien des Phosphates* Sharifian Office of Phosphates
ONI	L'Office National de Irrigation du Maroc National Office of Irrigation, later known as ORMVA
ORMVA	*Office Régionale de Mise en Valeur Agricole* Regional Office for Agricultural Development, Ministry of Agriculture

PA	*Plan d'Aménagement* Development Plan	
PAC	*Plan d'Action de la Commune* Commune Action Plan	
PPP	*Partenariat Public-Privé* Public-Private Partnership	
SDA	*Schéma Directeur d'Agglomération* Master Plan	
SDAU	*Schéma Directeur d'Aménagement Urbain* Urban Development Master Plan	
SNAT	*Schéma National d'Aménagement du Territoire* National Spatial Development Plan	
SODEA	*Société de Développement Agricole* Argicultural Development Society	
SRAT	*Schéma Régional d'Aménagement du Territoire* Regional Spatial Development Plan	
UN	United Nations	
VNP	*Villes Nouvelles Programme* New Towns Program	
VSBP	*Villes sans Bidonvilles Programme* Cities without Slums Program	
WB	World Bank	

* note that French acronyms will be used in some cases

Chapter One: Introduction

Since the 1950s, rapid population growth and rural to urban migration have put increasing pressure on cities around the world. Often, with urbanization comes disorderly and unplanned development at the urban fringes. Informal settlements built on illegally claimed land appear at the outskirts of large cities, along major roads and in agricultural and environmentally sensitive areas. Populations living in such informal settlements face poverty, exclusion, insecurity, and a lack of basic urban infrastructure and access to public services. In Morocco, the urban population grew from 29% in 1960 to 57% in the early 2000s (CMI, 2019). To address the rapid and ongoing increase in the urban population, which is expected to reach 68% by 2020, in 2004 the Ministry of Housing and Town Planning announced an ambitious program to distribute urban populations across the Moroccan national territory. The primary objective of the *Villes Nouvelles Programme* (VNP) is to restructure and strengthen the national and regional urban framework balancing decongestion and revitalization, hence reducing the growth pressure exerted on large cities.

The Moroccan New Towns Program (hereinafter referred to using the French acronym VNP) was created by royal decree. Fifteen new urban centers were proposed in satellite areas near major cities in order to curb sprawl and rationally plan for future growth by providing affordable housing to middle- and lower-income families in locations beyond overcrowded cities. Immediately after the VNP was announced in 2004, construction began in the first new town, Tamansourt, located in the outskirts of Marrakech. Three years later, in 2007, a second new town was established in the outskirts of Rabat named Tamesna. The amount of human and financial resources allocated to creating, implementing, and advertising the new towns program speaks to the Moroccan government's strong will to control urban development (Ballout, 2017). The private sector was significantly mobilized and international developers poured money and resources into realizing the conceptual visions of Moroccan new towns. Despite these efforts, most critics agree that the VNP failed to achieve its objectives in a timely manner, which has led to bad publicity rendering Tamesna and Tamansourt unattractive for incoming populations. In 2013,

concerns about the program's dysfunction and delayed provision of public services in Tamesna and Tamansourt led the government to increase funding and create recovery plans to revitalize the two experimental new towns.

New towns, planned capitals, and large-scale new-build projects are not new approaches to urban planning and development. Rational plans emerged as a reaction to the 19th century urban ills created by industrialization. By the 1920s, rational planning began to integrate the progressive ideas of rationality, technology, and mass production in the physical design of cities, leading to the beginning of the modernist planning era. Shortly thereafter, in 1946, planned new town developments appeared in Britain. They were touted as comprehensive solutions for housing displaced communities and struggling populations in the aftermath of World War II. While the first official new town policy was an effort to house displaced populations from bomb struck cities, the model eventually became used to decongest growing cities and proactively plan for economic growth. This mode of development whereby government elites and urban professionals assume the role of designers of urban life led to a general belief that societal order and change must come from skilled professionals and higher authorities. Thus, new towns and planned cities of the 1950s onwards became a symbol of high modernist architecture and planning that sought to standardize and simplify the built environment such that societies and economies became more legible and easier to control (J. C. Scott, 1998).

Morocco is not alone in this ambitious policy to build anew. Between 1960 and 2017, over 148 planned cities have been built on the African continent alone (Keeton & Provoost, 2019). These planned cities were intended to house close to 50 million inhabitants in the African hinterlands. In theory, the idea of building massive new towns filled with housing developments sounds reasonable for a rapidly growing continent. However, such orthodox city planning and social policy solutions faced challenges when they were first delivered under Britain's post-war welfare state and so, unsurprisingly, in today's pro-market, neoliberal climate they have continued to face challenges. In fact, market-oriented solutions to social urban issues in the neoliberal age of development have only exacerbated existing problems and increased

the socio-economic divide in the Global South. (See Gamage, 2015 for an overview on globalization, neoliberal reform and inequality in the Global South).

The literature on new town development has been marked by two related questions: *"why do new towns and centralized planning programs fail?"* and *"why do we continue to value new towns as planning remedies?"*. The explanations to these questions are widely available in the form of historical reviews of planning policies and "lessons learned" from previous experiences. The rationale for adopting new town policies is inherently linked to the utopian visions of planners, architects and political leaders of the time (Wakeman, 2016). Indeed, Morocco's 2004 New Towns Program was based on the vision of a monarch and executed by a minister of housing and urbanism who intended to make "new towns" an essential mark of his term in office (Ballout, 2017). In his royal speech on July 9, 1981, the late King Hassan II of Morocco expressed the need to decentralize major cities like Rabat, Casablanca, Meknes, and Marrakech by building new cities to house 40-50,000 inhabitants at a distance of around 30-40 kilometers from major urban centers. His instructions were clear:

> We must stop developing and enlarging our cities in a disorderly fashion. Instead, it will be necessary to establish neighborhood plans of 40,000 to 50,000 inhabitants, which will be proper small agricultural, agro-industrial cities—cities where professional training would be practiced, cities that can be self-sufficient and evolve in a healthy economic and climatic environment…
> (Translated from French in the National Council for Housing and Urban Planning "New Towns, New Cities" Policy Creation Report 2004, p. 4)

Over two decades later, King Hassan II's recommendations were manifested and amplified in the 2004 New Towns Program. At minimum, each of Morocco's fifteen proposed new towns would house 250,000 inhabitants.

Although viewed with skepticism, high-modernist, blank-slate city development projects show no sign of abating—rather new towns, planned cities and smart cities in the 21st century continue to be offered up as a panacea by city planners (Abubakar & Doan, 2017; G. A. Myers, 2011; Peattie, 1987; Watson, 2014). Since the 1950s high-modernist, planned cities and capitals such as Brasilia, Chandigarh,

Abuja, Ciudad Guyana and Dodoma have dominated national planning policies in the Global South (Peattie, 1987; Provoost, 2015; J. C. Scott, 1998). That is to say, utopian visions of comprehensively planned, self-contained settlements typically built from scratch have shaped the urban landscape of many "developing" nations since the mid-20th century (Abubakar & Doan, 2010, 2017). With rising concerns about environmental degradation and global climate change challenges, and the push for sustainable development, we can expect more new towns to appear, now dubbed as "sustainable cities", "eco-cities", "smart cities" and, in areas where natural resources are running out, cities that rely on renewable energy are expected to emerge, as in Saudi Arabia's plans for "post-oil" cities. Given the persistent application of the new town model around the world and more prominently in the Global South, this research provides a timely investigation into the planning and social implications of 21st century new town development.

I.   Focus, Scope and Approach to the Problem

New towns are interesting from a socio-spatial and policy perspective. Unlike cities that grow and develop organically overtime, new towns are completely pre-planned and rapidly developed for a non-resident (or often unidentified) population. Frankly speaking, the model sounds reasonable: in order to effectively solve the growing housing shortage, alleviate poverty, and keep up with a growing population, vast amounts of housing must be built in an incredibly short period of time. Thus, the problem with new town developments is not conceptual, rather it is a technical issue relative to scale and implementation on the ground level. New towns are planned from a bird's eye view using static forms of representation that present the city at its final stage of intended development. Architectural renderings of everyday life capture a generic and globalized view of urban life. As a result of being detached from the local culture and human scale, new town planning often fails to consider scales of temporal, spatial, and social organization. Thus, new towns and planned developments around the world have historically failed, and the mainstream urban studies literature along with other social sciences such as sociology and anthropology extensively discuss their failures (cf. Peattie, 1987; Holston, 1989; J. C. Scott, 1998; Ghannam, 2002; Irazabal, 2004).

A review of the literature on new town development and the lessons learned from previous new town experiments reveals that the scholarship on planning new towns is predominantly approached from a technical perspective, dominated by the viewpoint of elite professionals, program evaluators and the political actors involved. The lived experiences and the voices of those residing in a newly built environment are seldom brought into the conversation. Morocco's New Towns Program, for instance, has been evaluated extensively against its main objects and goals. (See Ballout, 2017 the article highlights the gap between expected results and actual results of the program). However, to date no extensive study has been done to document the lived experiences of the over 100,000 residents currently residing in the two most established new towns: Tamesna and Tamansourt. As such, my research objective is to document and assess the implementation of Morocco's new towns by investigating the lived experience and spatial adaptations of new town dwellers who have occupied Tamesna and Tamansourt over the past fifteen years.

My approach to studying the new town as an urbanization strategy focuses on how new town dwellers adapt and contribute to a newly constructed environment. I suggest that an understanding of the lived experiences of new town residents can provide valuable data for understanding why new towns supposedly fail and address *how can we create new towns that positively impact the quality of urban life in the future?* I utilize Lefebvre's (1974/1991) theory on the Production of Space as lens from which to study Moroccan new towns. I have used the three interrelated components that Lefebvre asserts contribute to the production of space, namely conceived, perceived and lived space. Conceived space is produced by the imaginations of those who intend to create and utilize the space, namely the planners, technocrats and future residents. Perceived space is the physical built environment: the material space with all its currently constructed streets, apartment buildings, blocks, sidewalks and public buildings that can be viewed by the passerby. Finally, lived space involves the subjective experience and the lived reality of the primary users and inhabitants of a space. Lefebvre's Spatial Triad Theory guided my data collection process to provide an overview of how the New Towns Program is imagined, perceived, experienced and differentiated by the many different actors involved (i.e., public officials, elite professionals, architects, planners, residents,

civic leaders, and everyday users of the space). I acknowledge that Lefebvre's spatial triad theory has been critiqued for having an urban bias, being extremely Eurocentric, and "utopian" (Unwin, 2000, p. 20). Thus, I emphasize that I use Lefebvre's spatial triad theory merely as an analytical framework— a lens through which to view and analyze the new town experiment from three concurrent angles that contribute to the production of space.

II.   Broader Theoretical Contributions

In addition to the new town literature, my research also contributes to a growing body of literature in critical urban theory, particularly postcolonial urban theory, which deals with modernity, development, and global urbanization. At the heart of the postcolonial critique of urban theory is a concern that urban scholarship and our general understanding of the nature of cities have been historically dominated by empirical studies of Euro-American experiences (Roy, 2009b). Postcolonial urban theorists ask the epistemological question: *who gets to define/theorize the urban?* (cf. Watson, 2009a; Ong & Roy, 2011; Parnell & Robinson, 2012; Parnell & Oldfield, 2016; Robinson & Roy, 2016; Roy, 2014/2016; Storper & Scott, 2016). As the Global South experiences rapid population growth and urban transformation, contemporary urban scholars are calling for a shift in the epicenter of knowledge production and a geographical realignment in the literature. Postcolonial urbanists advocate for comparative conceptualizations of 'ordinary' cities in order to ensure a more global perspective in urban studies (Robinson, 2011).

This call to theorize from the South has numerous critics, who cast doubt on post-modernism, post-development, and post-colonial urban theory perspectives. Essentially, post-colonial urban theory has been criticized for its one-sided critique of Northern theory, particularism, and insistence on producing territorial knowledge (A. J. Scott & Storper, 2015; Storper & Scott, 2016). Critics point to the fact that while much of the postcolonial urban literature calls for broader comparative analyses, it remains 'theoretically-unstructured' and lacks a clear consensus on how comparative studies must be designed and executed (Peck, 2015; Ren & Luger, 2015; Storper & Scott, 2016). This group of critical scholars believe

that the comparative approach advocated by postcolonial urbanists lacks a clear methodological basis and a systematic, theoretically informed approach to selecting issues and cities for comparison.

What both postcolonial urbanists and their critics have in common is their desire to answer the fundamental question that defines urban studies literature: "*what defines a city*" or "*what constitutes the urban?*". Both groups challenge ideas of 'global urbanism' and the World City paradigm, which bases its judgements and categorization of cities on the economies of elite global cities. Both groups seek to find a common language for communicating theories of urban life globally (Schindler, 2017)[1]. Myers (2018), for example, argues that urbanization in Africa is better understood from theories and conceptualizations that emerge from the Global South. Utilizing case studies from Dakar to Zanzibar, Myers notes the value and relevance of South-South comparisons of urbanization and development processes that can significantly contribute to urban policy and planning practice (ibid.). Additionally, both groups challenge the idea that the urbanization processes are fundamentally linked with the global economy. Finally, both groups acknowledge that cities have differences and that formerly marginalized scholarship and scholars need to have a bigger role in the production of urban knowledge.

Robinson's (2006) instrumental book *Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development* is perhaps a pivoting point for 21st century critical urban theory debates in that it begins to integrate both sides by advocating for a diversified understanding of urban life that includes experiences of different types of cities. Others followed the lead by acknowledging the existing debate and questioning what the next steps for urban studies should be (Sheppard et al., 2013; Peck, 2015; Storper & Scott, 2016; Leitner & Sheppard, 2016; Leitner et al., 2019). Leitner, Sheppard and Peck (2019, p. 6), for example, propose a "*both/and* rather than *either/or* approach to critical urban theory". Their work emphasizes the idea that "no single urban theory" can sufficiently account to the diverse nature of cities and urbanization processes around the world (Leitner & Sheppard, 2016, p. 230). Instead of looking at cities in an *either/or* (North-South, developed-developing) this group advocates for the diversification of the urban subject, and

---

[1] For more on the World City paradigm see Friedmann, 1986, 1995; Sassen, 1991, 2000.

moving beyond political economy and Western theories towards a focus on culture, identity, and subjective interpretations of cities within their unique context (Leitner et al., 2019). Additionally, Leitner, Sheppard and Peck (2019) focus on encouraging conversations between different theories and approaches and moving those discussions from theory to practice. They suggest that more can be learned from positive (data-rich) contributions than from discussions about theoretical differences (ibid). This dissertation responds to the invitation to "globalize urban theory" by asking the following questions: *What does Morocco's 2004 New Towns Program tell us about urbanization and processes of planning in the Global South? How can understanding Morocco's new towns experience contribute to global urban theory?*

Rather than analyzing the Moroccan new town experiment from a critical perspective, I situate my research in the contemporary critical urban theory discussions that promote a *both/and* rather than *either/or* understanding of urban space, one that relies on culture, identity and subjective interpretations of the Moroccan new towns within their unique context (Leitner et al., 2019). Thus, I ask the empirical question: *what can the lived experiences of new town dwellers tell us about the production of urban spaces in Morocco?* Through localized empirical observation, my approach to studying the urban is one that primarily focuses on everyday life and lived experiences of urban populations. I explore Tamesna and Tamansourt as new towns situated in a unique socio-cultural and political context. This way of studying the city urges the researcher to study the urban holistically, as an ordinary urban assemblage, yet acknowledging that it is embedded within a specific location and culture.

III.   Why Morocco? Practical and Theoretical Relevance

While new towns are being developed all over the African and Middle Eastern regions, Morocco's new towns provide a unique and extremely rich case study for studying the application of the new town model. Over fifty years since independence in 1956, the Moroccan government has returned to the *Villes Nouvelles* (new towns) planning strategies initially imported by French colonizers. This research is also a timely one. The Moroccan New Towns Program (VNP) is an ongoing project with new

towns currently at three different planning and development stages. Some new towns are currently being planned and designed, others have been implemented and largely occupied, and a small number of planned new towns are under revision as planners and developers take into consideration the outcomes of the program thus far. Findings from this comprehensive analysis of the social, planning, and spatial implications of the first two new towns developed under the VNP provide valuable insights for the many new towns that are yet to be designed, built, and occupied in Morocco.

As urban scholarship seeks to reflect the knowledge and perspectives of the Global South, the Moroccan experience contributes to these conversations. While the Global South, in general, has been highlighted by post-colonial urban theorists as a focus point for contemporary studies, African cities, in particular, have been called out, with the assertion that in order to advance global urbanism there needs to be a focus on African cities which is the fastest urbanizing continent (Parnell & Pieterse, 2014). My focus on Morocco with its geographically strategic location as a gateway to sub-Saharan Africa and a bridge to Europe and the Middle East follows these assertions by contemporary urban scholars, thus, allowing African cities to play a more dominant part in the transregional and global urban narrative (Parnell & Pieterse, 2014; see also Simone, 2004).

IV.   Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of nine chapters. Following the introduction of the project in Chapter One, Chapter Two presents an overview of the different trends in new town development policies from 19th century onwards in order to situate Morocco's 2004 New Towns Program within the broader discourse on new towns. Chapter Three provides a chronological overview of urbanization in Morocco. The purpose of this historical chapter is to provide the reader with a background on the evolution of the urban development system in Morocco in order to better understand the administrative structure on which the New Towns Program was established. The chapter begins with the "Islamic city" and thus situates Morocco's premodern urban development practices and administrative, legal and land tenure systems within their Islamic context (*waqf, habous, Sharia law etc.*). An examination of the spatial formation of

Morocco's Islamic cities in the precolonial era and the institutional power of the *makhzen,* Morocco's patrimonial form of government follows. I then discuss the urban development practices and administrative systems imported and employed by French colonists during the Protectorate (1912-1956). A discussion of postcolonial urban challenges and land law reform follows. The chapter concludes by presenting contemporary approaches to housing and urban development policies in Morocco with a particular focus on the VNP, central to this dissertation.

Chapter Four outlines the research questions and methodologies that were used for this dissertation. For the research design I employed an embedded single-case study design utilizing ethnographic and qualitative research methods (i.e., document analysis, participant observations, semi-structured interviews, and audiovisual material analysis). The case study selected is Morocco's 2004 New Towns Program and the units of analysis are the first two new towns to be developed and occupied under the program (Tamesna and Tamansourt). The sub-units of analysis were the interviewees I spoke to which included new town residents, public officials, property owners, private developers, civic leaders, business owners, residents of surrounding informal or clandestine settlements, and nonresident users of the new town such as local employees and informal market vendors. Most of the data were collected through personal interviews. Additionally, I collected data through firsthand observations as a participant observer during my time both visiting (Summers 2015, 2016 and 2017) and residing in the two studied new towns (between September 2018 and April 2019). These data were in the form of field memos and photographs taken at different interview sites and while attending socio-cultural, recreational and sports events held in the new towns at the time of my research. The interview, observation and photographic data were also supplemented with a wide range of public source data (i.e., newspaper articles, television news media and reports, social media resident and civic sector platforms, developer websites and promotional materials such as billboards and television advertisements).

Chapter Four also addresses the reasoning behind my decision to enter the field without any preconceived hypotheses and propositions. I found that many theories and discussions on new towns, rational planning, and high modernism have a Western bias as they are predominantly linked to the

Western standards of modernization and development. My goal was to assess the planning and social implications of the Morocco's New Towns Program from within its own context hence contributing to postcolonial urban theory that encourages experiences from the Global South to contribute to urban scholarship. As such, instead of traditional research approaches to that aim to test hypotheses deductively, I took an inductive approach and entered the field without referencing specific theoretical concepts apriori. To analyze my data, I utilized analytical procedures of the grounded theory methodology which involved a close look at the data and several rounds of coding allowing themes to emerge without the influence of preconceived ideas and expectations. A thematic analysis of the interview data was conducted using Atlas.ti (qualitative data analysis software) to identify the objects in the new towns that have meaning, and how different viewpoints (elites, residents and external observers) contribute to the production of space within and around the new developments. The chapter is concluded by addressing the limitations of my research design and methodology.

Chapters Five, Six, and Seven are the core empirical chapters that present findings from my two studied new towns. My findings are presented from three concurrent vantage points —that of professional elites (Chapter Five), residents (Chapter Six) and my own material analysis of the space as a participant observer (Chapter Seven). The three aforementioned chapters consist of my interpretations of empirical data collected in the field between 2015 and 2019.

Chapter Eight presents my theoretical conclusions on Morocco's New Town Policy and suggestions for future research. I begin by discussing how my research findings presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven have relevance for two bodies of literature and their theoretical underpinnings. The first important finding is that there is a clear mismatch between what elite professionals and local residents expect from a contemporary new town. This phenomenon in the Moroccan new towns is highly reminiscent of what Watson (2003) describes as "conflicting rationalities" where there exists a "clash of rationalities" between what is planned in a development project and what happens when a project is occupied. The second important theoretical finding is that the informal sector and the informal markets, in particular, are one of the key contributors to the progress and development of new towns Tamesna and

Tamansourt. This is a significant finding because informality is generally considered an antithesis to planning, especially to new town and master planning. As such, my research also contributes to the large body of theory around informality as a way of producing urban environments (Roy & AlSayyad, 2004). I present the informal activities in Tamesna and Tamansourt under the framework of Asef Bayat's (2008) theory of "quiet encroachments". In the third section, I review my research findings such that to answer a contextualized version of the fundamental urban studies question that is "*what constitutes the urban?*". I focus on answering the question "*what constitutes a new town (medina jadida) in contemporary Morocco*" based on the perspectives of its everyday residents. This section aims to close the gaps between what constitutes a new town professionally, for planners, and what does so socially, for residents and everyday users of a master planned utopia in the Moroccan context based on my empirical findings. By doing this, my goal is to take up Watson's (2003, pp. 403–404) call for the urgent need for "planning theorists to think further on the issue of planning in a context of conflicting rationalities" by returning to concrete, context case study research as a way to move planning theory forward. The last section of this theoretical conclusions chapter is reserved for suggestions and directions for future research.

The final chapter, Chapter Nine, focuses on the policy implications of this research. I review the current approaches taken by planning officials in Morocco to address the challenges faced in the production of Tamesna and Tamansourt. I then propose five principles and strategies for effectively planning and managing contemporary new towns in Morocco that derive from my empirical analysis of the current situations in Tamesna and Tamansourt. I hope that the final two chapters of this dissertation offer a contribution not only to the literature on new towns and postcolonial urban theory, but also to the practical applications of the new town model in the planning field.

Chapter Two: New Town Development: The Ultimate Solution to Global Urban Challenges?

Introduction

Building new towns has been proposed as a solution to major urban problems from post-war city rebuilding to addressing environmental degradation. The need to improve sanitation, provide clean water and drainage, and enhance public health dates back to the nineteenth and twentieth century with the rapid urbanization of European cities and the Western world (Turok, 2014). Following the establishment of Britain's New Towns Program in 1946, new urban developments have continued to be established around the world, albeit to solve different large-scale problems. New town programs have been established in Europe, North America, South America, Southeast Asia and in both Arab and non-Arab countries of the Middle East. Departing from British examples, the rationale for building and theories on how to build have changed overtime. This chapter presents an overview of the different trends in new town development policies from 19th century onwards so as to situate Morocco's 2004 New Towns Program within the broader discourse on new towns.

This chapter will show how new towns reflect the social, economic, and environmental challenges, ambitions, and priorities of the times in which they are built. New towns are predominantly produced because of top-down political decisions. The International New Towns Institute (INTI) defines new towns as "cities or towns that are designed from scratch [according to a Master Plan] and built in a short period of time" (INTI n.d.). The main difference between a city designated as a "new town" and regular city is the fact that new towns are planned according to an ideal vision as opposed to traditional cities that organically grow over time (ibid). The term "new town" reflects an urban development model that is a hybrid of the post-industrial Garden City Movement and the Modernism. In practice, many different terms are used to refer to a "new town". Garden city, satellite city, new settlement, and planned community have all been used interchangeably in the literature on new towns and planned development projects. In her comprehensive book on the intellectual history of the new town movement, Wakeman

(2016, p. 2) intentionally does not provide a definition for "new town", instead she asserts that what all new towns have in common is the utopian rhetoric and an attempt to build completely new environments that offer a prototype or model for the future. New town visions, as will be described next, provide a conceptualization of a better future, peaceful social order and modern convenience.

I.   Origins of the New Town: The Garden City Ideal

The origins of the new town ideal can be traced back to the revolutionary work of English social reformer, Sir Ebenezer Howard. In his publication, *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*[2] (1898), Howard presented his utopian vision of an ideal settlement that overcomes the problems cities experienced as a result of the Industrial Revolution (1760-1840), including overcrowding, pollution, poor working and living conditions, poor sanitation, and the spread of disease. Howard proposed building new cities, called "Garden Cities," that would be smaller than major cities and would each house 30,000 people. Each garden city would be surrounded by a green belt that housed 2,000 "peasant" farmers and provided food and a leisure landscape for each self-contained garden city (Howard, 1898, 1898/1902; Merlin, 1980, p. 77). Once a garden city reached its maximum population, another one would be built nearby. The result is a "group of slumless, smokeless" satellite cities clustered around a slightly larger sized central city of a 58,000 population (Diagramme no.7 "Social Cities" in Howard, 1898/1902). The cities would then be linked by a network of roads and railways. In 1899, Howard set up the Garden City Association to gain support for his ideas and in 1902 a revised edition of his book was published under a new title "Garden Cities of To-Morrow" which helped sustain his ideas of social and urban reform. The book became a widely read and highly influential text that guided the modern city and town planning movement (Clark, 2003).

A garden city is intended to be the best of both worlds—it provides the advantages of city living (housing, jobs and industry) and countryside living (clean air, nature, agriculture), without the

---

[2] The book was reprinted in 1902 as *Garden Cities of Tomorrow.*

disadvantages of either. Howard's renowned diagram "The Three Magnets", summarizes his utopian

vision by asking an important question: if the people are presented with three options 'Town', 'Country'

or 'Town-Country' where will they go? By marrying town and country, the urban and social worlds

would merge harmoniously with the natural and environment and allow for longer-term sustainability

(Diagramme no.1 "The Three Magnets" in Howard, 1898/1902; Clark, 2003). Although Howard's garden

city model was illustrated in diagrams, his idea was based on a socio-economic vision. It was not a solely

spatial, geographic or design proposal. Howard's ideal garden city also proposed that the new settlements

be built following a cooperative ownership scheme. Only two new towns were built on a cooperative

basis, Letchworth and Welwyn (Merlin, 1980). Letchworth was founded in 1903, some 40 miles north of

London, whereas Welwyn was founded in 1922, 25 miles north of London. Both experimental new towns

were built under Howard's supervision by the limited company he created in 1902, the First Garden City

Company Limited. As this chapter will show, Howard's initial ideas, which were driven by social reform,

sustainability and the pursuit for a healthy living environment for all, were overlooked by urban planners

and policy makers around the world who focused on urban design and profit in their quest to modernize

the built environment (Clark, 2003, p. 87). New towns became "propagandistic spaces" and a "device" to

produce utopian aspirations; in essence, they became urban design strategies (Wakeman, 2016, pp. 35,

304). In her outstanding book on the intellectual history of the new town movement titled *Practicing

Utopia*: *An Intellectual History of the New Town Movement* (2016, p. 7), Rosemary Wakeman explores

the new town movement as an "artifact of the modernization era". She reminds the reader that "utopia" is

the critique of what is the present, the current state, and that new towns, as utopian projects, emerge as a

result of people's desire for a better future (2016).

II.   **From Garden City to New Town**

<u>The Earliest Adoption of the Garden City Ideas (Pre-WW2)</u>

While the new town movement generally refers to the British new towns built in the post-World War II era, in fact, the earliest application of Howard's garden city ideals was prior to the First World War (Wakeman, 2016). The first time Howard's ideas were exported beyond Britain was in the early 1900s when a garden city was built in Russia by the Moscow-Kazan Railway Company (Wakeman, 2016, p. 22). Soon thereafter, the Russian Ministry of Transportation adopted the model when building settlements for its railway employees (ibid). Both Howard and urban planner Raymond Unwin, who worked together on the first garden city, Letchworth, wrote extensively about and presented the garden city model during their international travels. Their travels played a major role in extending Howard's ideas into regional planning across the globe. In 1912, the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association was created to capitalize on the international interest in the model. As early as 1912, garden cities appeared in Germany, and by 1919 in Canada. In fact, prior to the First World War (1914-1918), both Russia and Germany had founded active Garden City Societies. The German society had already gained over two thousand members (Wakeman, 2016, p. 24).

Modernist projects, James Scott argues, generally flourished during moments of crises such as wars and economic depressions when states wanted to assert their power (J. C. Scott, 1998; in Wakeman, 2016, p. 25). Wakeman's intellectual history of the new town movement sheds light on the many new towns and garden cities that appeared after the First World War (1914-1918) and into the Great Depression (1929-1933), as well as the boom in new town planning after the Second World War (1939-1945). According to Wakeman, the mid- to late- twentieth century (1945-1975) is the golden age of the new town movement during which garden cities continued to sprout in Europe, Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, and France.

During the years between the First and Second World Wars, progressive reformers in social welfare states realized that workforce housing was not the only important urbanization element. Provision

of public services, schools, clean air, potable water, and sanitation were also important for improving the quality of daily social life, especially for the urban poor. Concurrent with Howard's heyday, the ideas of Scottish sociologist Patrick Geddes were gaining popularity. Geddes was concerned with the social role of man in the environment as oppose to practical design and build considerations, such as infrastructure and traffic circulation (Meller, 1973). He was interested in learning what factors contributed to a better quality of human life and how to create a satisfying social environment within the modern city (Meller, 1973, p. 297). His "*theory of civics*", initially presented in 1904, advocated for the importance of a sociological approach to city development based on regional surveys that highlighted the geographic and historical nature of the region. Geddes' 'regional survey' was his way of bringing town and country harmoniously together in the same sense intended by Howard (Munshi, 2000, p. 487).

Following the work of Geddes, governments realized that cities could play an important role in social change and that regional comprehensive planning could improve working conditions by decentralizing urban populations into newly created garden cities. In the late 1920s, the Soviet Union embraced the garden city ideal in their plans to build medium-sized, new industrial, socialist cities. Germany's New Frankfurt Initiative (1925-1930) for public housing synthesized garden city ideals of social reform with avant-garde modernist architecture (Wakeman, 2016). Geddes' international work in India (1915-1922), where he employed his regional survey method, and in Palestine (1919-1925) where he proposed new settlements following the garden city model played an important role in transferring the new town movement and regional planning to the Global South (Rubin, 2011).

In the United States, the garden city model was first designed and implemented prior to the Great Depression. In 1929, Radburn, New Jersey was built based on plans by American proponents of the garden city ideal, Clarence Stein and Henry Wright. Although never completed due to the 1929 stock and housing market crash in the United States, it continued to inspire future planned communities world-wide. The 1928 design of Radburn by Stein and Wright was influenced by the ideas of American urban planner and sociologist Clarence Perry, who introduced the Neighborhood Unit Concept (NUC) (Mumford, 1954). Perry pictured schools, parks, playgrounds, and shops as the center of each neighborhood unit.

After hours, schools would transform into multifunctional community centers for social events and services. Perry's neighborhood unit concept became an ideal model for town and regional planning in the USA and internationally. In 1933, during the Great Depression, Norris, Tennessee was built by the Tennessee Valley Authority to house workers building the hydroelectric Norris Dam (Stern et al., 2013, p. 280). Norris was one of the first planned communities in the US to follow Howard's recommendation to establish a greenbelt to protect the community from encroaching development. After the Great Depression, under President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal Programs (1933-1939), the US government built three greenbelt planned communities to address American social and economic disparities exacerbated by the Great Depression (Reblando, 2010; Reblando et al., 2017)[3]. In 1938, also following the Great Depression – the British government embarked on their first official new town public policy (The Barlow Commission, 1937/1940). The goals of the initiative were urban containment and the dispersal of industries and populations into towns of 50,000 people each, especially those in regions that suffered major economic decline (Wakeman, 2016).

New towns were also utilized during the Second World War (1939-1945) when major cities became targets of air strikes. Urban areas were constantly under threat and governments were concerned with protecting war-related industries. Engineering firms, armaments factories, aircraft producers and industrial manufacturing centers had to be dispersed and protected from potential threats. As a result, countries like Russia, Germany and the United Kingdom scattered their vital industries away from major cities and into self-contained satellite communities. London's second garden city, Welwyn, for example, became the site of an armaments factory (Wakeman, 2016, p. 38). The period after World War II, notably, saw the dissemination of the new town concept globally. City building was used to control and reclaim assets and territories, to house migrants, and to reconstruct war torn areas. The post-war era provided early new town and regional planning advocates with a platform to experiment widely and apply their utopian ideas globally. Governments supported their utopian ideas and regarded them as ideal steps for

---

[3] The three Greenbelt Towns are: Greenbelt, Maryland; Greenhills, Ohio; and Greendale, Wisconsin.

rebuilding and regaining citizen support needed to achieve social unity.

Post WW2 - Reconstruction New Towns (1950s – 1980s)

In the aftermath of World War II and the industrialization era, cities in Britain became dense, disorderly, and dysfunctional. People lost their housing due to the bombarding of cities and resettled wherever they could. Increased density resulted in unsanitary conditions, insufficient infrastructure, and a lack of urban services consequently leading to unhealthy environments. The growing population also faced unemployment, economic distress, and social insecurity (Alexander 2009). As a result, in 1946, the UK's New Town Act was passed. It permitted the government to designate areas for new towns in an attempt to decentralize disorderly cities by moving populations to newly developed towns in the suburbs. Development control functions were passed on to semi-private Development Corporations. Britain's new towns were considered a modern urban design solution to unfit and overcrowded settlements in major cities. Reconstruction during this period was guided by the welfare state. New towns in Britain were funded by government loans and were, therefore, publicly owned. The war spurred vast migratory movements, created slum conditions, and spawned a general perception that the urban crisis could not be solved by piecemeal urban renewal projects. Planning and building entirely new settlements was seen as a moral responsibility for planners and the only way to overcome the urban crises. National governments, the UN, and philanthropic institutions like the Ford Foundation and Rockefeller foundation came together to coordinate modernization projects at the regional scale (Wakeman, 2016, pp. 46–47).

This "ambitious, large-scale solution" was based on the idea that new towns would adapt to "modern realities" and solve the problems of old cities (Alexander, 2009, pp. 5–7). A total of thirty-two new towns were planned in Britain in the early 20th century. In 1952, the construction of the first new town, Stevenage, in Hertfordshire began. Deconcentration of urban populations was the goal, and satellite new towns were seen as the solution rather than suburban expansion or inner city densification (Alexander, 2009, p. 70). The main intention of the New Towns Program was to create healthier,

economically stable places to live and work hence reducing the need to commute to larger cities. With the Conservative Government taking office in 1951, there was concern about the fate of the New Towns Program (Rodwin, 1952). However, in 1952, England's New Towns Development Act was established to support existing new towns and encourage town development in over-populated county districts. Britain's New Towns Program introduced planning concepts such as zoning, Perry's neighborhood unit concept, and, with the rise in car ownership, the separation of traffic and pedestrian networks. As more land was designated for industrial development in the mid-1960s, however, the quality of new town housing degraded. Shortage of materials and manpower also led new towns to adapt a standardized approach to mass-produced housing making them unappealing (Alexander 2009). High-rise apartment blocks on the smaller land areas designated for housing produced undesirable, highly dense living conditions. As will be discussed next, New Towns built in the mid-20th century clearly moved further away from the post-industrial socialist ideals of the Garden City Movement and the focus on the relationship between man and the environment towards a modernist view of the city as a machine, standardized with technology and functional order.

III. Second Generation of Post-War New Towns

The Shift Towards Scientific Management at the Regional Scale

The late 1960s and 1970s introduced cybernetics[4] and systems analysis as useful tools for solving the urban crisis (Wakeman, 2016, p. 154). Telecommunications, computer modeling, mathematical computations and satellite imagery were used in land-use and transportation modeling and new towns offered the best place to experiment with scientific thinking and systems analysis to improve social and urban conditions. Cybernetics allowed planners to predict patterns and outcomes of policy decisions and

---

[4] The term Cybernetics was first defined in 1948 by American mathematician Norbert Wiener as "the science of control and communications in the animal and machine". Put more simply, Cybernetics refers to the scientific investigation of systemic processes to understand how they function and how to organize and regulate them. See the American Society for Cybernetics for more: https://asc-cybernetics.org/foundations/definitions.htm

hence intelligently achieve an urban ideal. Wakeman (2016, p. 159) argues "cybernetics provided a mechanism to concretize utopian aspiration through unprecedented scientific tools and technologies" and that scientific research, systems analysis, and technology of the 1960s resulted in a set of larger, more complex new towns. The second generation of post-war new towns (mid 1950s-1980s) were different than earlier garden city models which were intended to become self-sufficient live/work settlements that decentralized cities and limited commuting. Instead, the second-generation post-war new towns sought to transform massive territories by creating networks of smaller cities connected by highway transportation networks and communication (Wakeman, 2016, p. 210). The shift was towards territorial rationalization and master planning of metropolitan regions. Road and highway engineers and traffic planners were more involved than before in the planning of new towns. In the United States, for example, under the regional systems planning approach, a linear arrangement of cities and towns was proposed along highway corridors by avant-garde architects like Bout-well, Graves and Eisenman (Wakeman, 2016, p. 165).

Sprawl, white flight, and urban decline during the 1950s and 1960s led President Lyndon B. Johnson to shift public policy towards comprehensive master planning of new communities. Planned communities in the United States during this time were a means to prevent sprawl, avoid blight, protect green spaces, and remove unwanted increasing automobile traffic. Irvine in California (1960) and Reston in Virginia (1964) are the products of this time. By 1973, fifteen New Communities in the US were provided with federal funding under the New Communities bill passed in 1970 (Wakeman, 2016, p. 246). New towns produced from the 1950s onwards were critiqued for their overdependency on the automobile, delays in the provision of public services, and their lack of social cohesion. People lost the social support networks they had in the city leading to 'New Town Blues', the outcome of social isolation (Alexander, 2009, pp. 101–102). Milton Keynes, built in 1967, is the poster child of this time. Additionally, in 1967, Britain's Conservative Government sought to encourage more homeownership in the new towns by allowing the private sector to build homes. Prior to that, ownership in the new towns was based on sales to tenants. Britain's new towns obsession ended in 1976 when the new town Stonehouse planned for Glasgow Scotland was abandoned and funding was shifted toward inner city development.

In France, the 1965 master plan (*schema directeur*) for the Paris region used scientific analyses, surveys, feasibility studies and complex matrices to locate a series of proposed eight new towns as nodes on a regional plan, five of which were built (Wakeman, 2016, p. 220)[5]. Cergy-Pointoise and Evry were the two Parisian model new towns of the 1970s. French urban planners were aware of Britain's last set of new towns, which produced monotonous and undesirable housing much like the *grands ensembles* large-scale modern high-rise housing of Paris in the 1960s. They were intentional in their desire not to recreate them (Desponds & Auclair, 2017). Three main elements made the Parisian new towns different from their British counterparts. First, they were much larger in scale; second they were carefully integrated into the region with rapid transportation systems, and finally, they focused on prioritizing a diverse economic base for each of the new towns (Wakeman, 2016, p. 221).

In the US, the New Communities Assistance Program of 1970 encouraged private developers to take part in the American new town movement. But, according to Wakeman (2016, p. 248), the privately financed new communities that appeared in the US in the 1960s and 1970s were mostly "no more than glorified subdivisions with some glossy design elements and a shopping center". MacKenzie (1994) has called these homogeneous privately developed, master-planned and gated communities 'privatopias'[6] where "homogeneity, exclusiveness, and exclusion are the foundation of social organization" (MacKenzie, 1994; in Graham & Marvin, 2001, p. 177). Involving the private sector in the development of new towns was further encouraged through the global neoliberal economic reforms of the 1980s.

IV. New Towns as Political Symbols of State Power and Nationalistic Aspiration (1940s-1960s)

In addition to rebuilding post-war ruins, deconcentrating over-crowded cities, housing a growing population, and dispersing industrial and economic activity, new towns in newly independent former

---

[5] The five new towns built around Paris in the 1970s are Cergy-Pointoise, Saint Quentin en-Yvelines, Evry, Marne la-Vallee, and Melun-Senart. See Desponds and Auclair's (2017) article for more on the state these new towns 40 years after their establishment.

[6] See (Graham & Marvin, 2001, p. 467 and Chapter 6, Part Two) for more on new towns, planned communities and 'rich enclaves' that have appeared on the fringe of megacities of the Global South (Indonesia, Turkey, the Philippines and post-apartheid South Africa).

colonial nations of the Global South emerged as political symbols of state power and nationalistic

aspiration. Arguably, the first-time new towns illustrated their political potential was in Italy in the 1920s

and 1930s under the Fascist regime in the form of land reclamation projects and public spaces for creating

a rational order in accordance with Fascist ideals (Wakeman, 2016, p. 35). In Nazi Germany (1940s),

standardized, mass-produced cities were planned in the German-annexed areas of western Poland as part

of a colonization scheme to facilitate the expansion of German occupied areas (ibid, p.37). The German

population was redistributed in newly planned developments to help take over eastern territories

populated by undesirable Jewish populations.

Colonial Towns of the Middle East and Africa (1940s – 1950s-60s)

As political projects, new towns were also utilized by colonial administrations to accommodate

expatriate colonists. Morocco's first generation of *villes nouvelles* (new towns) built during the French

Protectorate (1912-1956) were a strategy to house French colonial settlers in European zones outside of

traditional Moroccan *medinas.* Other colonial regimes built new towns in resource rich areas of the

Middle East and Africa. In 1946, while still under British Protectorate (1899-1961), a planned community

was built in Kuwait to house expatriate employees of the newly established oil company (Kuwait Oil

Company-KOC) (Alissa, 2013). The Al-Ahmadi planned development was the result of the oil industry

boom that brought in many expatriate employees to work in the fields and was therefore designed to

house these employees close to oil fields. Colonial company towns, or "resource towns", as Wakeman

(2016) calls them, also appeared in other resource rich countries like Iran and Ghana. During

decolonization and independence movements, garden city ideals were used by foreign companies to

"prove their good intentions to emerging nations" (Wakeman, 2016, p. 128). In Iran, the garden suburb of

Bawarda in Abadan was designed by British architect James Wilson in 1926. Its design was influenced by

the garden city ideals, as well as India's City Beautiful concepts from New Delhi in the early 20th century

(Crinson, 1997). Like Kuwait's Al-Ahmadi town, the housing built in Bawarda and other new towns by

the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company featured spacious single-family housing units and bungalows, manicured

lawns, and recreational amenities. They were models of Western neighborhoods built for nuclear families

(Crinson, 1997; Alissa, 2013). Nigeria's new town Arlit was built in the 1960s when large uranium

deposits were found and French investors were interested in funding uranium enrichment facilities.

Colonial and resource towns separated European from non-European refinery and mine workers,

in many cases forcing indigenes to settle in squatter settlements along the outskirts of the planned

communities. Morocco's *villes nouvelles* (European new town quarters) were built by indigenes and

consumed a large amount of tax revenue for the benefit of smaller foreign communities. The French *villes*

nouvelles spawned the first *bidonvilles* (slums/squatter settlements) in Morocco in the early 1920s.

During decolonization, the former European quarters in cities like Casablance and Rabat were occupied

by a newly established elite Moroccan class. Abu-Lughod (1980) has argued that colonial spatial policies

led to a caste system that has stratified the Moroccan to this day. In Africa especially, exploitation of

indigenous populations for building new towns and extracting natural resources resulted in injustices

(Wakeman, 2016, p. 142). Ghana's new town Tema, for example, was built in the 1950s as an industrial

and harbor city with the support of Western investors from British, Russian, and Italian companies. A

major dam was built in Tema to provide hydroelectric power for extraction of bauxite and processing

aluminum (Wakeman, 2016, p. 132). Social segregation in the design of Tema was blatant. Located on

Ghana's Atlantic coast, Tema was designed by Greek architect and planner Constantinos Doxiadis whose

theory of *Ekistics* sought to introduce a "science of human settlement" (1968). Doxiadis (1968) believed

that human settlements are susceptible to systematic investigation and hierarchal organization to achieve

rational order through scientific planning. As a result of implementing his *Ekistics* model in Tema, the

new town featured neighborhood community cells with housing classified by income level (Wakeman,

2016, p. 147). Rent in the lowest income housing, however, was still too high for Ghanaians who built the

city. As a result the sprawling slum, Ashaiman, emerged in proximity to Tema built by residents whose

incomes were far below the national average (Owusu, 1999). The introduction of Doxiadis' theories of

rational hierarchy marked a shift in the social reformist notions of the garden city model towards a

developmental modernism and globalization model (Wakeman, 2016, p. 150). As will be discussed next, New Towns that appeared from the 1960s onwards, such as postcolonial capital cities (like Brasilia, Islamabad and Chandigarh), and comprehensively planned new settlements in newly independent nations (like Egypt, Israel, Iran) exemplify the shift from new towns as post-war social reform to new towns as modernization tools.

Postcolonial Capital Cities and New Towns as Development Modernism (1950s-1960s)

In the years after colonial independence, new towns built in the newly independent nations of the Global South reflected nationalistic aspirations—a fresh start towards an independent future, free from colonial control. Capital cities such as India's 1947 planned capital, Chandigarh; Brazil's new capital Brasilia (1956-1960); and Pakistan's Islamabad (1967) are examples of the first wave of new towns built in newly dependent nations. These were planned by Western experts in cooperation with local political officials and planning elites (J. C. Scott, 1998; Wakeman, 2016, p. 103). While many of these plans intended to represent national and state objectives, they generally mirrored the interests of European-influenced/educated planners and elites. Designed by architects Lucio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer, Brasilia was built to replace Rio de Janeiro as the capital in a more central location (J. C. Scott, 1998). India's Chandigarh was part of the 1951 Master Plan by Swiss-French architect Le Corbusier. It was planned to replace Lahore, which became part of Pakistan following India and Pakistan's partition (J. C. Scott, 1998). Pakistan's Islamabad was planned by Constantinos Doxiadis and Doxiadis Associates in the late 1950s to replace Karachi as the capital. As in Ghana's Tema, Doxiadis planned Islamabad using his *Ekistics* theory. A hierarchal system separating communities by class and connecting all communities to a major transportation system (bikes, pedestrian, vehicular traffic) was used (Frantzeskakis, 2009). Planned capitals such as Brasilia, Chandigarh and Islamabad aimed to create a specific orderly and utopian image and serve as a means to administer and modernize a growing population (J. C. Scott, 1998). The new capital cities of the late 1950s to early 1960s featured a mix of Howard's garden city ideas, rational

planning, Perry's Neighborhood Unit Concepts, and modernist tabula rasa ideals (Wakeman, 2016, p. 102).

With high rates of population growth, migration, rapid urbanization and the increase of informal and insufficient housing, newly independent nations turned to decentralization and comprehensive planning strategies. They were directly influenced by Europe's postwar spatial planning (Britain's New Towns Program and France's 1965 New Town Policy), and Stein's regionalism, and survey methods, as approaches for effectively planning for the future. Master plans from the 1950s onwards featured comprehensive regional visions to manage national space. In the 1950s, Israel's 'development towns' were presented in their National Plan (also known as the 1950 Architect Sharon Plan) as a means to house the large number of Jewish immigrants moving in from surrounding Muslim and Arab countries (Tzfadia & Yiftachel, 2004; Yacobi, 2016). Over twenty-seven 'development towns' were established in 1950s and 1960s. Egypt's 1969 Greater Cairo Region Master Scheme called for the creation of four satellite cities by 1990 to decentralize the growing urban population[7] (Stewart, 1996). The towns located in the desert surrounding Cairo would be connected by an integrated urban network. Even larger new towns were planned in the 1970s in Egypt, like 10 Ramadhan and Sadat City. Those new towns were intended as free-standing urban and economic attraction poles (Tipple, 1986). Ciudad Guyana in Venezuela was also planned and built in the 1960s based on the growth pole strategy in an attempt to enhance the economy by capturing growing industries (Peattie, 1987). Many of these plans were supported by international development agencies, such as the Ford Foundation and the World Bank.

V.   21st Century New Towns

Two important global occurrences influenced new towns in the 21st century. First was the global shift towards neoliberal economic policies, the retreat of the state, and the mobilization of the private sector in city building. Second was the pronounced interest in "sustainability" and "sustainable

---

[7] Only three of Egypt's 1969 satellite cities were planned: 6 October New Town, Al Obour New Town and 15 May New Town.

development" in anticipation of environmental crises and global warming (1990s). The sustainability

movement was further promoted by advances in information and communication technologies that

presented opportunities to address urban and environmental challenges using intelligent data platforms

and networks.

New Towns under Neoliberalism

The myriad actors involved in new town development has changed over the years from socialist

welfare states and communist governments to industrial companies, private developers, limited-profit

private organizations and international aid agencies. In the late 1970s and 1980s, shortages in government

funding and an increased fear of public sector debt caused the return to market-oriented capitalism

reminiscent of the 19th century, now labeled as neoliberalism. Peck and Tickell (2002) describe the

neoliberal development process as having two phases: "roll-back neoliberalism" and "roll-out

neoliberalism." The first "roll-back" phase refers to the welfare state's retreat or retrenchment in response

to fiscal shortages. The second "roll-out" phase refers to restructuring state-based oversight, regulation

and involvement in promoting privatization. State spatial projects, as Brenner (2004, p. 92) notes, became

projects of neoliberal spatial governance. Instead of the public-housing-focused new town development

that was most prevalent in the 20th century, 21st century new towns in the era of globalization adopted a

neoliberal approach involving private-public partnerships and a competition for international funding.

New town Rajarhat, which began development in the 1990's about 10km from India's West Bengal state

capital Kolkata (formerly Calcutta), is an example of neoliberal strategies in new town development.

Rajarhat was developed to generate an area for new metropolitan housing growth, to establish a new

business district, provide an area for light industrial activity, prevent unplanned growth, provide regional

public services and create an environmentally friendly and aesthetically attractive new urban settlement

(Chakravarty, 2013). The city was built using public-private partnerships (known as "joint ventures") in

which public infrastructure and services would be financed through the private sector in exchange for

land sold to private developers at a subsidized rate (Chakravarty, 2013). In 2001, under Shanghai's "One City, Nine Towns Plan", megaprojects were initiated by public officials such as mayors, and implemented by private businesses men. The new towns under of the "One City, Nine Towns Plan" are meant to become hosts for international firms and Chinese people who enjoy Western lifestyles. Nine of the ten new towns are designed to resemble cities in foreign countries (United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, Sweden, the United States, France, Spain, Australia, and Netherlands). Only one city, Zhujiajiao, will mimic a traditional Chinese water town. The new town plans were realized by various real estate development companies (Chen et al., 2009).

Following the shift towards neoliberalism, the Moroccan government mobilized both private and public investors in the housing and real estate sectors, particularly relative to affordable housing. One policy that materialized during this neoliberal shift on a large scale is Morocco's 2004 New Towns Program, which is the program central to this dissertation. Morocco's 2004 New Towns Program aims to develop fifteen new towns following 20th century modernist planning strategies. The aim is to create orderly and coherent built environments. The main difference between Morocco's contemporary new towns program and other high modernist planning schemes of the 20th century is that it adheres to a neoliberal logic and utilizes private-public partnerships in the provision of public housing. While Morocco's new towns significantly mobilize the private sector, they are still highly controlled State spaces. The 2004 New Towns Program is not just a project aimed at establishing new urban centers to capture urban growth or to produce plentiful housing to close the rising housing deficit, rather it also absorbs urban slum populations from major urban centers such, as Rabat and Marrakech. The removal of slums makes space for modern development (megaprojects) in major cities like Rabat, Marrakech, Casablanca and Tangier and are intended to increase their recognition in the region and their potential global economic competitiveness. Therefore, the New Towns Program can be considered a centralized state project that allows the State to increase its control in the age of Globalization (cf. Harvey, 1985; J. C. Scott, 1998; Brenner, 2004; Lefebvre, 1978/2009). Rather than "rolling back" their involvement in developmentalism, the State shifted to a form of "roll-out neoliberalism" in which the Government

expanded its involvement by creating various autonomous state agencies, state-controlled companies (like

Al Omrane), and ad-hoc agencies to manage various projects (Bogaert, 2018). As I will argue, modernist

planning coupled with neoliberal infrastructure regimes and the privatization of public services in

Morocco's contemporary new towns has led to an even more divided society. Ironically, the results of 21st

century new town planning are not very different from those initiated by colonial regimes. (See Appendix

1 for a timeline of New Towns in Morocco since the French Protectorate period in the early 20th century).

New Towns and the Sustainable Development Ideal

The second 21st century influence on new town development is the sustainability paradigm. This

paradigm was launched when the term "sustainable development" was defined in the UN's 1987

Brundtland Report (also entitled *'Our Common Future'*). The report defined sustainable development as

"development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations

to meet their own needs" (United Nations, 1987). While the idea of sustainability was not new, its

prominence came from experiences in the developing world whereby development efforts in many cases

led to environmental degradation (Ward, 2002). The Brundtland Report (1987) placed the sustainability

paradigm on the agendas of countries worldwide and led to a slew of international environmental

initiatives beginning with the Rio Earth Summit of 1992. The UN's Millennium Development Goals

(MDGs) that followed in 2000 also influenced 21st century planning and urban development. Goal seven

of the MDGs "to ensure environmental sustainability" called for the integration of "sustainable

development into country policies and programmes" (United Nations, 2000). As a result, since the early

2000s increasing numbers of new town projects have been planned and developed across the globe in the

name of sustainability. In 2003, the UK Government announced its Sustainable Communities Plan that

identified four 'growth areas' to accommodate new housing developments and nine 'housing market

renewal areas' where housing needed to be demolished, refurbished or built in order to provide 'decent'

living standards. In a 2007 commissioned review of the UK Government's progress on the Sustainable

Communities Plan, the new build component of the policy was critiqued. Increasing the density of existing towns and cities and encouraging energy efficient solutions was proposed as a much more sustainable and feasible approach than building new communities that required public service provision, transportation links and time to establish social networks and community organization (ODPM, 2003). Since then, development policies in the UK have shifted towards brownfield redevelopment and rehabilitation as opposed to building anew, while nations around the world especially in the Global South continued to propose new development projects to achieve sustainability. Saudi Arabia, for example, proposed four "economic" sustainable cities in preparation for the post-oil era (SAGIA, 2012). The "garden city" paradigm of the 20th century was replaced with a "green city" model (Parsons & Schuyler, 2002).

As an example, in 2006, Masdar City, a net-zero carbon eco city, in the United Arab Emirates was initiated as one of the first sustainable cities in the Middle East. At the same time, in 2006 plans for Zenata Eco-City in Morocco were awarded the Eco-City Label (ECL) at the 2016 United Nations Climate Change Conference held in Marrakech (COP 22). Zenata was the first Eco-City in Africa to be awarded the ECL. Other developing countries suffering from widespread slums and rapid population growth like, Indonesia, Egypt and Kenya, launched programs offering multiple new eco-oriented urban centers. In 2013, the Spatial Planning Concept for Nairobi Metropolitan Region was signed. The Kenyan government proposed six thematic cities (airport center, knowledge and health center, cyber city, sports city, transport city and national park/tourist center) (Splinter & Van Leynseele, 2019). These cities, among others in Egypt and Africa, are being realized with the help of international investors from Europe, China, and the UAE. Egypt's Alamein Eco-City is one of several sustainable new towns proposed in Egypt in 2015 with French and UAE investor interest.

<u>New towns in the age of Information Technology</u>

The sustainability paradigm has also been influenced by so-called smart technologies that have the potential to increase the efficiency of sustainable development strategies and improve environmental performance. Kenya's 2008 plans for Konza Techno City are the result of Kenya's IT sector boom. Ambitious plans to build a new "smart" capital city to replace the dense city of Cairo in Egypt and provide places to live for the continuously growing population have also emerged (Capital City Partners, 2015). Many plans for "smart" and "eco-cities" have yet to materialize and as a result their impacts have not been documented like those of 20th century utopian modernism (Watson, 2014). In her review of 21st century African new towns which she dubs "urban fantasies", Watson (2014) studies plans for satellite cities in sub-Saharan Africa, many of which follow the "smart" and "eco-city" paradigms. Tanzania's Kigamboni City, Ghana's Hope City, and Eko Atlantic City in Lagos, Nigeria are all examples of the new urban fantasies appearing in the sub-Saharan region. These projects are inspired by cities such as Dubai, Shanghai, and Singapore (Watson, 2014). Twenty-first century new towns are now competing to claim world-class city status.

Conclusion

While new towns continue to be offered up as the panacea for all urban ills from rapid population growth to environmental degradation, over-reliance on the new town model and comprehensive plans to build anew and relocate urban populations has led to significant social, economic, and cultural and environmental impacts. As a result, the new town framework, especially as it has been implemented in the Global South under the framework of developmental modernization, has been widely rejected and critiqued in the social sciences literature (anthropology and sociology) (cf. Renaud, 1981; Holston, 1989; J. C. Scott, 1998; Ghannam, 2002). Others disagree, arguing that new towns have been so violently critiqued and rejected because too much was expected from them due to their utopian framework (Wakeman,2016). While heavily critiqued, it is important to note that the new town movement has had a significant impact on the planning profession. The planning field was professionalized, internationalized,

and given confidence as a result of the new town movement, regional planning and the use of surveys and systems analysis that emerged in the early mid-20th century (Wakeman, 2016). Wakeman argues that, in reality, whether new town projects are successful depends not on their utopian ideal form, but on "where they were located, how they were maintained, who lived in them, and a variety of homegrown political, social and cultural exigencies" (Wakeman, 2016, p. 16). The utopian visions of politicians and new town planners can be considered as symbols of hope as they present persistent aspirations for a better future. Perhaps where the utopian dreams became less effective was when the work of utopian and social reformers like Geddes and Howard, who pointed out the need for sociological understandings of cities, was adopted by design-centric architects and quickly transformed into a narrowly conceived spatial project (Meller, 1973, p. 315). Today, many of the new towns that have been developed and occupied in the Global South, where issues of socio-economic inequality and poverty are on the rise, have been viewed by their inhabitants, social activists and scholars as places of exclusion and marginalization that limit people's economic mobility (See Yacobi, 2016 for example of Israel). There are many lessons to be learned from the successes and failures of social and urban utopias in the post-World War II era that can improve our application of the new town model in the future (See Alexander 2009 for lessons from the British experience). Given the substantial history of how the new town model has shaped the urban sphere and the evolution of the planning profession over the last two centuries, new towns deserve to be studied widely and given greater emphasis in urban planning curricula, but also in architecture, engineering, public policy, and international development, among other fields that have substantial impact on the built environment and the quality of life in urban settlements.

Chapter Three: Urbanization in Morocco – An Historic Overview

Introduction

Despite Morocco's location on the far western edge of the Arab-Islamic world, its urban development was profoundly influenced by Islamic dynasties of the *Mashriq* (eastern Arab world) as early as the 7th century. In fact, Islam was first brought to Morocco in 680 by the Umayyads of Damascus before reaching Spain in 711. In the pre-Islamic era of Morocco nomadic tribes roamed the desert, transhumance tribes set up seasonal *douars* (round groupings of tents or camp units) in the mountains and valleys, and peasant populations settled in agrarian or fishing villages (Abu-Lughod, 1980, p. 28). Rather than adhering to a defined institutional body, indigenous Berber society was linked by blood and kinship and was attached primarily to the soil. Settled agrarian society, on the other hand, was based on shared communal property that remained in the possession of a given group so long as they could protect it from others.

The penetration of Islam into Moroccan society marked the beginning of a shift from nomadic traditions to more sedentary urban life. Contrary to the irregularity of the nomadic lifestyle, Muslim practices are based on frequent everyday societal and spiritual gathering. The emphasis of the Islamic religion on community and social harmony led to its recognition by many scholars as an "urban religion" (Marçais, 1928; Von Gruenbaum, 1958; AlSayyad, 1996). Indeed, some of the most important urban centers in the Arab world were built during the height of the Islamic empire between the mid-7th and the mid-13th centuries. During this period, well-established principles of urban development and city building were brought from Damascus to Spain (Cordoba and Granada) and later infiltrated into Morocco.

In this chapter I provide a chronological overview of urbanization in Morocco. The purpose of this historical chapter is to provide the reader with a background on the evolution of the urban development system in Morocco in order to better understand the administrative structure on which the case study new towns Tamesna and Tamansourt are built. I begin with the "Islamic city" in order to situate Morocco's premodern urban development practices and administrative, legal and land tenure

systems within their Islamic context (*waqf, habous, Sharia law etc.*). Next, I examine the spatial formation of Morocco's Islamic cities in the precolonial era and the institutional power of the *makhzen,* Morocco's patrimonial form of government. I then discuss the urban development practices and administrative systems imported and employed by French colonists during the Protectorate (1912-1956). Finally, a discussion of postcolonial urban challenges and land law reform leads us into the contemporary approaches to housing and urban development policies in Morocco, specifically the 2004 New Towns Program *(Villes Nouvelles Programme - VNP)*, which is the central focus of this dissertation.

I.   The Islamic City: Islam and the Built Environment

Islamic Beliefs and Practices

To aid in understanding how the Islamic religion influenced urban form and development of precolonial, traditional Moroccan cities, a brief and extremely simplified overview of some of the fundamental beliefs of the Islamic faith is necessary. Muslims believe in the existence of one God who is the creator of the Universe. One of the five major pillars of Islam is the Shahada phrase *("lā ilāha illā allāh muḥammadun rasūlu llāhi")* that identifies Allah as the universal God who entrusted Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) as His messenger to spread the Divine message. Allah's words were believed to be inscribed by the chosen Prophet in the Holy *Qur'an*, the main Islamic scripture, which covers various aspects of human existence, general social organization and directives for its followers. The actual practice of Allah's commands on Earth are recorded in the *Sunnah* which documents habits and practices of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). Together, the two main Islamic textual sources (*Qur'an* and *Sunnah*) present a comprehensive view of the ideal society that integrates both individual and collective religious and social practices in the everyday life of a community. Although Islamic texts do not suggest formal spatial recommendations for building society, their emphasis on portraying an exemplar society that emphasizes the hierarchical position of the timeless Divine and the temporal role of the human, the responsibilities of the individual and the society, and what is permissible (*halal*) and what is forbidden

(*haram*) all have several spatial implications that are evident in the organically yet intentionally built cities of the Islamic Golden Age (786-1258 approx. 8th-13th century) (Bianca, 2000; Shojaee & Paeezeh, 2015).

<u>Islamic Influences on Built Environment</u>

In contrast with Western modes of urban life that focused on progress, technology, economic development and continuous improvement, Muslim urbanities were built around the belief that human existence on Earth is temporary and that there is a beginning and an end to the material world. Thus, humans should respect the Divine order, and refrain from establishing formal administrative institutions of social order to "control" society in the Western sense of governments and municipalities. This is apparent in the lack of government buildings, city halls, courts and other administrative buildings in traditional Islamic cities (Bianca, 2000). Social order is imbedded within everyday practices of the Islamic religion. The mosque as the main public building holds not only religious but political and social functions as well. It is the space where the urban community can meet frequently not only to renew their shared religious beliefs during prayer times, but also carry out their social duties (like giving *zakat*, a form of alms-giving), and hold other institutional functions of society on Fridays after congregational prayer.

Unlike Western linear patterns of development with the goal of planning the ultimate utopia, Islamic city planning was more spiritual based, seeking to create an ideal community that respects the sacredness of the mosques and family space. In the Islamic city there were no formal plans to produce street networks of increasing degrees of privacy. By simply respecting the Islamic concept of "*hurma*"[8], meaning sacredness, domestic spaces gained a degree of sacredness and needed to be protected (Bianca, 2000). For example, doors for entering one's house were never facing the entry door of another house (S. Al-Hathloul, 1980; 1996; 2005). This is both to preserve privacy and to allow homeowners to use the

_____

[8] Note: the Arabic word "*hurma*" is also used in its singular form as a synonym for the word "woman" since women ("*harem*") fall into the sacred category and are considered worthy of protection.

fina' space, a semi-private space in front of their doorstep. Courtyards became central enclosed spaces where *harem* (women) spent most of their time sheltered from external forces. In contrast, modern day planning codes and regulation such as setbacks, height restrictions and street dimensions lead to predetermined urban form that may not consider the privacy and sacredness of domestic spaces (S. Al-Hathloul, 2005). Setbacks, for example, allow for windows facing outwards and result in an invasion of neighbors' privacy. Rather than producing large avenues and undefined public spaces, Islamic cities featured streets of economic activity that slowly lead into private, narrow dead-end streets. Public squares were typically located within the formal mosque or *madrasa* structure (educational institution for Islamic instruction) serving a direct purpose of gathering people for a specific spiritual, communal or educational purpose. (See AlSayyad, 1981, 1987 for more on space in the Islamic city).

The lack of formal spatial planning and subdivision of land is reflective of Islam's focus on establishing settlements based on the temporary existence of a community with shared religious and spiritual values and principles (Bianca, 2000; Shojaee & Paeezeh, 2015, p. 233). Three main physical elements were central to the Islamic city and common across different countries regardless of their various regional, cultural and environmental factors: the mosque (*masjid* or *jāmiʿ*), school (*madrasa*) and marketplace (*souk/bazar*). It is important to note however, that much of the literature on the spatial structure of the "Islamic city" is based on descriptions of the North African Islamic city (Abu-Lughod, 1987). The three aforementioned anchor structures tend to be spatially connected forming a rich economic, religious, social, political and recreational core from which more private (domestic) spaces gradually extend (Shojaee & Paeezeh, 2015, p. 233). These three main public elements, the mosque, market, and school, are the core from which an irregular street system is formed based on the social aspects of private Muslim life (S. Al-Hathloul, 2005). To the advantage of this dissertation, many descriptions of the mosque and market combination, the *hammam* (public bath), *qaisariyya* (clothing market) and the logical layout of the different market activities (bookstores, produce and poultry vendors, leather and wood workshops, furniture and kitchen utensils, used goods market) are based on descriptions of Fez, Rabat, Marrakech and Tunis (Abu-Lughod, 1987). In fact, Willam Marçais's 1928 article that first

introduces the idea of Islam as an "urban religion" is based on his study of Fez (Marçais, 1928, see also Abu-Lughod, 1987 for more on the Islamic city debate[9]). Thus, in the descriptions of precolonial Morocco in the following section I will refer to the notion of urbanization of the "Islamic city" as referenced by scholars based on descriptions of urban centers in the North African '*Maghreb*' (Northwest Africa) region.

Application of Islamic Values in City Building and Societal Organization

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, within the Islamic faith, Muslims are expected to respect the privacy of their neighbors and make it their social responsibility to insure peace within their community. Thus, unlike modern city planning that follows a set of preconceived building codes and regulations, Islamic city planning allowed for freedom relative to zoning and land use planning that was flexible and purely based on social and public good (S. Al-Hathloul, 2005). Two important values of the Islamic faith shaped the planning and regulation of Islamic cities: respecting the right of neighbors and acting in the interest of the community (Bianca, 2000; Correia & Taher, 2015). Under *Sharia* law, everyday life in Muslim urbanities was managed through the collective consensus of religious leaders, scholars and interpreters known as the *ulema'* or *fuqaha'.* Thus, space in the Islamic city was dealt with by religiously authorized personal. Along with the responsibility of applying Islamic *Sharia* law, the *Qadi* (Muslim judge) was also given the responsibility to represent the community and manage *waqf* (charitable endowment) properties and their revenues (Bianca, 2000). Others who were assigned civic and regulatory roles included the *muhtasib* (municipal inspector), who regulated municipal order in the market and neighborhoods, as well as mosque and *madrasa* (religious school) teachers.

In his instrumental study on the legal history of the Arab-Muslim city in 14th-16th century Tunis, Al-Hathloul studied examples of disputes on road encroachments in Muslim cities (1980). Looking at

---

[9] The focus of Islamic city descriptions on the North African context has led to questions on whether there is such thing as an "Islamic City" (See Eickelman, 1974; Abu-Lughod, 1987; AlSayyad, 1996 for more on the Islamic city debate).

right-of-way (*tariq al-muslimin* – the road of the Muslims), conception of space (the range between private and public) and concern for privacy in Arab-Muslim cities, Al-Hathloul (1980) presented the decision-making process of Islamic jurists in determining what was "legal" or "illegal" based on Islamic principles. Rulings (*ahkam*) in the Islamic legislative system were derived by looking at what is prohibited (*haram*) under Islamic practice and deemed all other activities allowable. For example, to solve spatial disputes amongst neighbors over encroachment of public space due to home expansion or use of shared semi-public streets for animal keeping, Muslim jurists relied on a saying of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) *"la darar wa la dirar"* which translates to *"there should be neither harming nor reciprocating harm"*.

These rulings based on Islamic principles to prevent "harm" are comparable to the concept of "nuisance prevention" in Western law. However, in the Islamic city, as long as no harm was done there was no need for building permits and approvals. Main thoroughfares for urban traffic only linked important commercial and religious buildings such as the mosque, *madrasa* and market all other pathways were limited to local inhabitants and their neighbors and were supervised by the *muhtasib* (Correia & Taher, 2015). The *muhtasib*'s role as municipal inspector was to observe public roads and right-of-ways making sure that they were used without constituting "harm" to others in any way (S. Al-Hathloul, 1980; Bianca, 2000). Al-Hathloul (1980) also references books written by *muhtasib*'s themselves to uncover what kind of activity was prohibited or frowned upon in the Islamic city. One example is the discussion on prohibition of water from draining in narrow alleyway gutters so as to avoid slipping hazards for users of the Muslim right-of-way (*tariq al-Muslimin*) (S. Al-Hathloul, 2005). Moreover, regulation of space in Islamic cities was reactive and like *Sharia* law, not codified. Therefore, the best way to study traditional Islamic cities can be by looking at the decisions made by *qadis* (Muslim judges) regarding the built environment, much like the notion of "precedent" in Western law.

The Social Organization and Political System of the Islamic City

A popular assumption by early Orientalists was that Muslim communities, unlike their medieval Western counterparts, lacked municipal organization (Abu-Lughod, 1987/2012). Later, however, more in-depth studies of Muslim towns found that guild-like trade organizations and other municipal organizations existed in early Islamic cities, albeit not centralized as those in Western societies (See Von Gruenbaum, 1955, 1958; and Hourani & Stern, 1970). In fact, Islamic historians assert that during the reign of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) (6th – 7th century), the institutional needs of Islamic societies were met primarily through the unique system of "*waqf*" (charitable endowments). Following Prophet Muhammad's (pbuh) exemplary leadership, wealthy Muslims provided land, property or financial endowments to fulfil identified needs within their communities. *Waqf* organizations typically included religious, social, cultural, educational, scientific, and health services among others. The revenue generated from leasing and activating *waqf* properties was to be used to fulfill public needs of the community. For example, *waqf* properties were leased for a minimal charge or no charge at all to provide decent housing for the Muslim poor. Scholars studying Islamic civilizations credited the *waqf* system in early Muslim cities as the main factor in poverty alleviation, unemployment reduction, and equal access to education and health care (Baqutayan et al., 2018). Additionally, *waqf* establishments contributed to the education and scientific movements in Islam as most education centers, private and public libraries, and scientific research centers were supported by charitable endowments (Baqutayan et al., 2018). Once a portion of one's wealth is given as *waqf*, it becomes inalienable and its ownership is transferred to *Allah* ("the God" in Islam) for the purposes of continued charity for the benefit of the Muslim people. The funds, land or community service buildings may not be taken back, gifted, or inherited. Heads of major family tribes and ethnic groups, especially those who gifted money, land or community buildings for social welfare purposes were instrumental in the development of Muslim urbanities (Bianca, 2000; Shojaee & Paeezeh, 2015). By creating opportunities and the economic means to provide for citizens, *waqf* institutions ensured a balanced and sustainable society. Towards the end of the Islamic Golden Age, however, there

was a decline in *waqf* institutions mainly due to poor management and misuse of *waqf* funds by Muslim

governments, but also as a result of new management systems brought by European colonization

(Baqutayan et al., 2018).

Evolving Governance Structure in the Islamic City

As discussed above, under Prophet Muhammad's leadership there was no formal government

structure. Political and social issues were dealt with by the Prophet (pbuh) himself, whose role was both

the spiritual and social leader. His moral actions were recorded in *hadiths* (recorded sayings) transmitted

by his close companions and constituents and followed thereafter. With rising tensions following the

death of the founder and leader of Islam in the 7th century, the succession to Prophet Muhammad (pbuh)

created tension within the Muslim community. It became clear that to maintain Islamic norms, there

needed to be a more systematic way of resolving rising disputes within Muslim communities.

Consequently, the 8th and 9th centuries marked a shift in Islamic traditions. It was no longer reasonable

to allow one person to be both the spiritual and political leader (Bianca, 2000). Religious leaders agreed

to come up with a governance system that relies on the two original textual sources (*Qur'an and

Sunnah*[10]). As a result, Islamic '*Sharia*' law was formulated to provide an organized and consistent

framework to ensure Muslim society is governed according to religious practices and beliefs (the word

Sharia means *Shar' Allah* or God's will). *Sharia* law is different than Western codified laws in that it is

based on the interpretive reading of the two fundamental Islamic texts, the *Qur'an* and *Sunnah* by

religious scholars through the process of *ijtihad,* an effort to make legal decisions based on scholarly

consensus. Disputes are brought to Islamic jurists (*qadis*) who consult with scholars and qualified jurists

---

[10] *Sunnah* includes recordings of the practices and sayings of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). It is important to note that although the *Qur'an* is known by all Muslims to be miraculously preserved and remains unchanged to this day, the *Sunnah* is derived from the reports and narrations by Islamic followers, as a result, the credibility and chain of hadith narrators are subject to change, and their credibility was questioned by different Islamic scholars.

(*muftis*) who after examining the matter, issue nonbinding opinions (*fatwas*[11]) as solutions deriving from their reading and interpretation of religious texts. *Sharia* law does not depend on uniform decisions for identical cases. Instead, it is based on the consistency of the case analysis methods. For example, relying on trustworthy witnesses, local and religious expert testimonies, and weighing the social interest of the *Umma* (Muslim community) (Hoffman, 2010). Ideally, *Sharia* law considers the evolution of society and practices and is dynamic in that it depends on different interpretations and is subject to change depending on the place, time and other external political, social and environmental factors. Both *waqf* institutions known as *habous* in the *Maghreb* context and *Sharia* law were practiced in Morocco since the beginning of the Arab-Islamic conquest of Berber communities in the 8th and 9th centuries. In order to understand the influence of Islamic practice on the evolution of urban space in Morocco, we will turn to the history of urbanization in precolonial Morocco.

II.   Precolonial Morocco: Islamic Influences on Morocco's Urban Fabric

During the precolonial era, Morocco's urban fabric was shaped by both Islamic and patrimonial forms of urban governance. This section discusses the ways in which the Islamic beliefs and customs discussed above influenced Morocco's land governance systems and tenure policies and the contemporary administrative organizational structure in Morocco. This discussion also serves as a background for understanding the tensions of the colonial era when both traditional Islamic systems of governance and Western/modern administrative systems worked in parallel.

Islamic Influence on Morocco's Social and Political Organization

Islam continued to grow in Morocco with the foundation of Al Qarawiyyin Mosque in Fez in 859 (Abun-Nasr, 1971, 1987). The 11th century occupation of Morocco by the more orthodox and purists

---

[11] *Fatwa* in Islam is a nonbinding legal opinion on a point of Islamic Sharia law. *Fatwas* contain details of the Muslim scholar's reasoning based on their interpretation of a particular case. Legal opinions (*fatwas*) made by religious scholars can then become rulings or decrees issued by *qadis* or *muftis* (Islamic lawyers/jurists).

Almoravids (*al-murabitun* in Arabic) initiated a strong return to traditional Muslim practices whereby *fuqaha'*, as the interpreters of Islamic *Sharia* law, were influential in providing legal and spiritual advice to the ruling prince at the time (Abun-Nasr, 1971, p. 98). Under the Almoravids, taxes had to be authorized by *Sharia* law. It was under the Almoravids ruling that Islamic law was strictly applied in Morocco, leading to stability in the region and unifying the country (Abun-Nasr, 1971, p. 103). Almohads (*al-muwahhidun*, the Unitarians) followed the reformist Islamic movement of the Almoravids, but their successors were driven by a desire for political power, rather than religious motives (Abun-Nasr, 1971, p. 119). As a result, the mid-13th century marked a relaxed period in terms of strict Islamic governance in Morocco. Meanwhile the Alawite dynasty "*sharifs*" who are descendants of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), were establishing a presence in Morocco. From the 13th century onwards, the Alawites gained popularity in Morocco. In the 17th century, Moroccans agreed that those continuing to rule the country needed to have a valid "reason" for their authority. The Alawites were believed to be gifted by God with *baraka* (blessings) as they were descendants of the Islamic Prophet (Abun-Nasr, 1971).

In 1666 the Alawite dynasty took power and were chosen to continue ruling Morocco due to their special religious status as *sharifs* (Sheline, 2019). The legitimacy of the Alawites as monarchs was reinforced in the postcolonial era with the declaration of the King as "*Amir AlMoumineen*" (Commander of the Faithful) in the 1962 constitution (Article 23, Constitution of Morocco, 1962; Daadaoui, 2011; Sheline, 2019). Alawite leaders believed that to ensure unity and stability, the influence of *'ulama* (or *fuqaha*)[12] should be revived. By the 19th century Morocco was a unified state led by the Alawites through the *makhzen* (governing institution) administrative structure. As a result of the Alawites' religious status, Morocco's precolonial *makhzenian* governance system was profoundly influenced by Islamic beliefs and practices. A discussion of the *makhzen* and its role in Morocco's state formation is pertinent to this study as the word "*makhzen*", which was introduced to denote the ancient governing system, is commonly used today by locals in Morocco when referring to the Monarchy and ruling elite. The following discussion of

---

[12] *Ulama'/fuqaha'*: religious leaders, scholars and interpreters in Islam

the precolonial *makhzen* system and its significance aims to provide the reader with the background necessary to decipher interview findings presented in the empirical chapters that mention "*El* (The) *Makhzen*" and its role in the development of new towns Tamesna and Tamansourt.

The *Shariefian* Government System: *El Makhzen*

Since the 17th century, Morocco has had an established governance system whereby traditional oversight and spatial regulation mechanisms were managed by Islamic beliefs and practices. The governance system in Morocco is unique in that it expanded under the religious authority of the *shariefian* Sultan (King), who is a direct descendant of the Muslim prophet. The Sultan's *shariefian* origins is undoubtedly the reason behind the monarchy's resilience and stability. Scholars attribute the uniqueness of the Moroccan government system to its combination of both temporal and spiritual power (Daadaoui, 2011, p. 50).

In order to better understand the evolving sociopolitical system in Morocco, we must first consider the origins of the *shariefian makhzen* institution. Since their ascent to power in the 17th century, the Alawite Sultan's central role was that of a mediator of local disputes and granter of civic and political order under Islamic practice. In exchange for the Sultan's conflict resolution services, the tribes pledged their allegiance to the Sultan following the *bay'a* (pledge of allegiance) tradition practiced in the reign of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). Additionally, by obtaining the written *bay'a* document, the Sultan was able to collect taxes from the community leader. The taxes were collected and "stored" in the Muslim *Ummah* (community) treasury, traditionally called the "*makhzen"* which literally translates to "storehouse" in Arabic (Joffe, 1988; Daadaoui, 2011). The *makhzen* became the center for conflict resolution by the sultan following the Islamic concept of *bay'a*.

Clearly, the precolonial system was profoundly influenced by Islamic beliefs and practices. It was established following the Islamic ideal whereby social order was to be achieved by dispersing power rather than concentrating it. The Alawites, decentralized power by empowering local chiefs (Daadaoui,

2011). The system was "conditional and contractual" and "communal rather than territorial", limiting the overall authority of the Sultan (Joffe, 1988, p. 218). As a result, the modern state still lacked a central government authority. Governance was decentralized based on regional tribal occupancy. The Sultan's limited authority allowed Moroccan society to remain traditional and accommodating of indigenous communities with the result that a nascent form of indigenous national unity was established—one that will later be crucial to nationalist movements during the French Protectorate. As a result of the Alawite dynasty being a symbol of unity in urban areas, the sultans were able to govern the State, through the *makhzen*, with the help and guidance of *qadis* (Islamic jurists) and *ulema'* (Islamic interpreters). Arguably, the limited authority and weakness of the Sultan was the main reason behind the Monarchy's survival because tribes were able to enjoy their autonomy while ensuring peace[13] in their community (Joffe, 1988).

In addition to having Islamic influences, the *makhzen* system is also believed to have stemmed from Berber traditions. Under the Berber dynasties of the 11th -13th centuries (Almoravids and Almohads), tribal crops, valuables and military supplies were safely stored and guarded in fortified "storehouses" ("*agadir*" in Berber) within the community (Daadaoui, 2011). The word *makhzen* is an Arabic translation of the Berber noun *agadir* meaning "storehouse" (Berber Dictionary, Ilahiane, 2006). Under Berber dynasties, the *makhzen* represented army and tribal assets, and under the Alawites the government institution represented the sociopolitical functions of Islamic society such as the Muslim house of treasury (*bit el mal*), the concept of tribal allegiance to the Sultan *(bay'a)* and the collective consensus and consultations by religious leaders (*shura*). The *makhzen* was, therefore, the product of both traditional and patrimonial governance mechanisms. Overtime, the *makhzen* in Morocco has shifted from its initial meaning as a public tax and asset treasury to a "reservoir of power" (Daadaoui, 2011, p. 42).

---

[13] A debate exists on whether the *makhzen* and ruler's authority stemmed from tribal allegiance or whether the *makhzen*'s authority relied on brutal, authoritative means, and fueling intertribal warfare etc. See Daadaoui, 2011 for more.

The precolonial *makhzen* consisted of three sources of power: the Sultan (King) and his *waziers* (ministers) who set policy guidelines, the *katibs* (secretaries) who wrote and distributed the policies decided upon by the King and *waziers*, and finally the treasurers and administrators in charge of taxes, financial and economic government tasks (Daadaoui, 2011). Policies set by the Sultan and his *waziers* are presented in the form of royal decrees known as *dahirs*[14]. Put simply, the *makhzen* system relies on a cadre of religious and commercial elites selected by the Sultan who gain personal benefits by supporting the monarchy. In the postcolonial era, the *makhzen* continues to be a symbol of direct-benefit elites. It is important to note that the strength and stability of the *makhzen* was confirmed recently in the 2011 pro-democracy uprisings, namely the Arab Spring Movement, which spread across several Muslim countries. In fact, Morocco's 'survival' of the Arab Spring has been largely attributed to the powerful control of the *makhzen* that concentrates much of the Moroccan economy in the hands of the Monarchy and economic elites (Duke II, 2016). An understanding of the *makhzenian*'s role relative to land control and governance is crucial to this study given that colonial, postcolonial and recent land use governance stems from the ancient system. This system directly affected the process of obtaining land for building new towns, particularly in Tamansourt, where *guich* (military) land had to be acquired from descendants of military tribes.

Islamic and traditional aspects of governance are still evident in Morocco today. The Alawites of the 17th century remain the current rulers of Morocco. To this day, the King of Morocco maintains the highest religious authority and is identified as "Commander of the Faithful" (*Amir al-Mumineen*), the title bestowed upon him by the 1962 constitution (Constitution of Morocco, 1962). *Qadi*s and *ulema'* (religious leaders) are to consult with the King. Delegating the function of interpreting Islamic laws to a collective body meant there needed to be an executive council that comes up with *fatwas*[15] based on

---

[14] A *dahir* is an institutional mechanism through which delegation is done, from the head of power to his trustees.
[15] *Fatwa* in Islam is a nonbinding legal opinion on a point of Islamic *Sharia* law. *Fatwas* contain details of the Muslim scholar's reasoning based on their interpretation of a particular case. Legal opinions (*fatwas*) made by religious scholars can then become rulings or decrees issued by *qadis* or *muftis* (Islamic lawyers/jurists).

consensus of the custodians of the Islamic faith (*fuqaha'*). Both the Ministry of Habous and Islamic

Affairs and the High Council of Ulemas manage and study the issues brought to the King in Moroccan

society. Today, the Ministry of Habous and Islamic Affairs is responsible for managing *habous*

endowment properties and their revenues, constructing and managing mosques, dealing with Islamic

affairs including events and education, and the High Council of Ulemas consists of a group of Islamic

scholars headed by the King, who issue *fatwas*. In the aftermath of the Arab Spring, Article 41 of the

2011 reformed Moroccan Constitution granted the High Council of Ulemas the sole authority to guide

religious consultations (*fatwas*) based on the "principles, precepts and designs of Islam" (Constitution of

Morocco, 2011, p. 13). That is to say, the role of Islamic traditions remains strong in the contemporary

Moroccan political structure.

Makhzenian Domains of Authority in Relation to Land Governance

The precolonial *makhzenian* institution was divided into two domains of authority: "*blad al-*

makhzan" and "*blad al-siba*". "*Blad al-makhzan*" (land of the *makhzen*) referred to government land and

areas of regulation controlled by taxes paid to the Sultan's *makhzen*. The *makhzen* "stored" and managed

taxes and government land. *Blad al-makhzan* was a consolidation of predominantly urban, Arab

influenced and densely occupied low-lands. "*Blad al-siba*", on the other hand, literally meant land of the

noncompliant or "dissident" and consisted of high lands mostly occupied by "insubordinate" Berber-

speaking tribes who recognized the Sultan as the religious leader, but preferred to keep their autonomy

and manage their authority (Abu-Lughod, 1980, p. 99; Abun-Nasr, 1987, p. 285). The Moroccan Sultan

had the authority to enforce a legal system on *blad al-makhzen*, collect taxes, command loyalty and

guaranteed their support in the case of external attacks (Abu-Lughod, 1980, p. 99). From *blad al-siba*, the

Sultan could only be guaranteed their loyalty and support.

Under the *makhzen* system, royal authority was extended to remote tribal lands in rural areas

through a chain of "*caids*" (dominant landowners), "*sheikhs*" (tribal heads) and "*muqaddemin*" (local

leaders that are the link between *caids* and people). While *caids*, *sheikhs* and *muqaddemin* were in charge

of *blad al-siba*, *pashas* (urban/regional commanders) and *muhtasibs* (municipal inspectors) were in

charge of the markets and urban areas of *blad al-makhzen*. The *makhzen* system also had spatial

implications. Under the Alawites, the *qasbah* traditional town settlement became the physical place for

the Sultan to station loyal troops.

The two seperate, yet mutually recognizable, domains of authority created a balance of power,

unity and stability in the region. Today, the *makhzen* still represents state power, domination, royal and

elite power (Daadaoui, 2011). It was not until the French protectorate (1912-1956) that the balance of

power was disrupted when the French extended the Sultan's institutional authority to "*blad al-siba*"

(Daadaoui, 2011). Ruling the newly defined larger territory was beyond the traditional decentralized

system of the Sultan and therefore promoted a more centralized system of governance. The lack of

property boundaries and undefined reality of occupied lands became a concern to colonial occupiers. As

will be discussed in the colonial Morocco section of this chapter, a systematic land tenure and registration

system had to be put in place to ensure political control. However, in presenting the history of state

formation in Morocco, Daadaoui (2011) argues that the state building process actually predates French

colonial rule. He asserts that colonialism is not to blame for the emerging elite coalitions in formerly

colonized states like Morocco (Daadaoui, 2011, p. 44).

Precolonial Land Tenure in Morocco

During the early Islamic conquest of Morocco (8th and 9th centuries), no private ownership of land

(*melk*) existed. Land belonged to the occupying tribe so long as they had the ability to maintain and

protect it against other tribes. Tribal land was not measured as a single property, but a political territory

that was determined based on the military strength of the tribe and its relationship with its neighbors

(Bouderbala, 1999). Theoretically, all lands under Muslim rule belong to the *Ummah* (Muslim

community) and were to be managed by the Muslim ruler who had dominant power over the land and

taxes collected on behalf of the community. The leader would manage the land with the goal of maintaining peace, order, and public welfare. During the Umayyad period (8th century), Muslims were to pay a minimal tax in the form of almsgiving (*zakat*) and non-Muslims were to pay a higher tax (*kharaj* or *jiziya,* terms used interchangeably) in exchange for complete freedom to occupy and cultivate their land. With the spread of Islam in the region, the tax base began to shrink. To overcome the decline and fiscal difficulties, any land occupied by non-Muslims at the time was defined as *kharaj* land that is subject to *jiziya* taxes, regardless of the future holders. There were three categories of land: Arab/Muslim occupied land that was subject to modest *zakat* taxation, state land that was unclaimed by tribes and later used to maintain ruler sovereignty by housing military (*guich*) tribes, and finally, *kharaj* land mostly in the hinterlands. Under the Alawite dynasty, these land categories were combined into "*blad al-makhzan*" (government land) and "*blad al-siba*" (land of non-tax paying rural indigenous tribes). Land tenure was therefore similar to medieval European feudalist society; the only way to secure one's land would be by paying taxes or offering military and protection services in exchange for freedom to occupy land. In his comprehensive article on the history of land tenure in Morocco, Bouderbala (1999) argues that the essential elements of a land tenure system were set in place long before colonial independence. Collective lands were closely supervised by the State through the roles of *sherifs, caids* and *sheikhs*. Public *makhzen* land was managed and controlled by the State. Private ownership (*melk)* or "by-right" lands were managed by *guich*, *habous* and the *makhzen*.

Urbanization in Precolonial Morocco: Building the Islamic City from Inland to Coastal Urbanization

Although precolonial Morocco was mainly dominated by nomadic, Berber tribes, as a result of Arab-Islamic influence in the region, Morocco spawned some of the most sophisticated Islamic urban settlements in history (Abu-Lughod, 1980). As Morocco became a predominantly Islamic nation, many legal, cultural, and symbolic ideologies began to influence the urban fabric of Morocco. In her comprehensive research on Islamic urbanism and colonial intervention, Susan Gilson Miller studied the

process of urban transformation and its mechanics (Miller, 2005). Urban centers were typically founded and developed through the generosity of endowments made by religious merchants (commercial bourgeoisie). Miller (2005) notes, the Habous of the Great Mosque of Tangier is an outstanding example of how the system of *habous* (*waqf* – charitable endowments), as a unique urban institution, provided a framework for civic and social order, pride, and local identity that tied the community in the city of Tangier together (Miller, 2005).

Since both Arabs and Berbers were predominantly nomads skilled in camel transport, most important cities founded in the Arab region were inland centers connected by land routes for trade caravans. Inland urban settlements in Morocco date back to the late 8th century when Muslims from the *mashriq* began invading the region, forcing Arabic on Berbers and planting religious structures (mosques and *madrasas*) in the region. Examples of important Islamic inland cities include Mecca and the Medina, Baghdad, Samarra, Aleppo, Damascus, Al Fustat (also known as Old Cairo) and later Al Qayrawan in Tunis, as well as Fez and Marrakech in Morocco (Abu-Lughod, 1980, p. 31).

What is common about precolonial cities in Morocco is that their growth was stimulated by the founding of Islamic religious centers and schools. The oldest of Morocco's imperial cities, Fez, was initially founded in late 8th century around a small Berber marketing center (Abu-Lughod, 1980). In the 9th century, the addition of the Qarawiyyin Mosque and religious school (*madrasa)* by Fatima al-Fihri of Tunisia made the city the spiritual and educational epicenter of Muslim Morocco and contributed to its naming as the central capital of Morocco. Fez represented the ideal prototype of an Islamic civilized settlement and laid the ground for future urban settlements in Morocco (Abu-Lughod, 1980, p. 41). Shortly thereafter, the second imperial city, Marrakech, was established when the first bricks of Ben Youssef Mosque were laid in the early 11th century. Marrakech was named the capital of the Almoravid empire. The 11th century marked a time of active "city building in Morocco" as traditional urban *medinas* (town quarters) cultivated around prominent mosques built along the pre-established inland trade routes (Abu-Lughod, 1980, p. 44). The 12th century Koutoubia Mosque in Marrakech, the Grand Mosque in Meknes and the Great Mosque of Salé are examples of the civilized urban core from which economic,

recreational and dwelling activities emerged (Abu-Lughod, 1980). The establishment of the first three imperial cities in Morocco (Fez, Marrakech and Meknes) around a religious structure is a testament to William Marcais' (1928) claim that Islam is an "urban religion". It also validates Von Gruenbaum's (1955) assertion that Muslim towns are settlements in which the religious duties of a Muslim could be completely fulfilled since the mandatory Friday congregational service could only be practiced in a fixed settlement (Von Gruenbaum, 1955, 1958).

Clearly, the urban centers of Morocco were built predominantly according to the needs of a Muslim community. As with other Islamic cities, Morocco's urban centers expanded with the gradual addition of tribal quarters. Each tribal quarter had its own mosque, *souk,* and in the Moroccan context *hammam* (public bath) (Von Gruenbaum, 1958). The gated tribal quarters each had an autonomous governance structure creating a decentralized governance system allowing for the collective management of land and resources. As previously mentioned, the three anchor structures (mosque, *madrasa* and *souk*) form the economic, religious, political and recreational core from which secondary economic corridors and tertiary domestic spaces extend in the narrower blind alleys, an urban spatial structure that can still be seen in the medieval medinas today (cf. Fez, Rabat, Marrakech old medinas etc.) (Shojaee & Paeezeh, 2015, p. 233). A large body of literature discusses the sustainability and environmental benefits of vernacular architecture and urban design in the Arab and Islamic world based on examples of vernacular architecture in the MENA region from the UAE, Iran, Yemen, and Algeria, to name a few (cf. Mahgoub, 1997; Mortada, 2003; Al-Zubaidi, 2007; Mazraeh & Pazhouhanfar, 2018; Attia, 2020; Benslimane et al., 2020). In their paper titled *"Islamic city and urbanism, an obvious example of sustainable architecture and city"*, Shojaee and Paeezeh (2015) compare elements of the Islamic city with sustainable development indicators to see whether the Islamic city is an exemplar of a sustainable city and conclude that urbanization principles that existed in the Islamic city offer all the elements necessary for achieving a sustainable city from physical design and environmental compatibility to social, economic, political and cultural needs of urban citizens. The notion of building Moroccan traditional cities around mosque structures is a critical element that will be discussed further when presenting the role of mosques in new

towns, Tamesna and Tamansourt. The scale at which traditional neighborhoods operate in Morocco whereby neighborhood mosques (*jami'*) and *hammams* (public baths) and *farrans* (public ovens) are within a walking distance from private residences is dramatically expanded in the design of the contemporary new towns based on modernist principles of planning and design.

Until the 17th century, most urban and trade activity in Morocco concentrated inland. Even though the 10th century Islamic expansion led by Fatimid shipbuilders made sea routes more popular in the region, Morocco still relied on its pre-established inland routes (Abu-Lughod, 1980). It was not until the 17th century that port cities such as Rabat, Essaouira and later, Casablanca and Tangier, became important trade centers. In the 18th century, port cities along the Atlantic coast opened an avenue for European sea trade and eventually full incursion into Morocco. Towards the 19th century, economic activity continued to move towards coastal cities, foreign merchants began dominating sea routes and trade, and the European military started to occupy the North African coast as a means to protect their trade organizations. As a result, Arabs moved further inland, thus, allowing port cities to become more diversely occupied (Abu-Lughod, 1980, p. 31).

Opportunities for Colonization: Foreigners' Right to Hold Property

In the years building up to Morocco's colonization, the Anglo-Moroccan trade agreement of 1856 made Morocco more dependent on trade with Europe. Under the reign of Sultan Moulay Hassan I (1873-1894), the administrative government system was reformed and the *makhzen*'s power was increased—but so was reliance on foreign capital (Miller, 2013). In 1880, the Moroccan government signed an agreement with European countries at the Madrid Conference. Article 11 of the treaty recognized the right of all foreigners to hold property in Morocco, to buy land, and register their land with the *makhzen* for protection (*Treaty of Madrid*, 1880). Prior to that, foreigners could only purchase land under the name of a Moroccan citizen, which was risky. This agreement made Morocco more attractive for investment, breeding urban capitalism that allowed for the "indirect colonization of Morocco" and an opening for

Europe to slowly take over (Abu-Lughod, 1980, p. 105). As we will see next, forces of centralization under colonial rule affected the modern nation-state and, as expected, contribute to the administration of new towns Tamesna and Tamansourt today.

III.   Colonized Morocco: The *Old Medina* and the *Villes Nouvelles*

The institutions of modernity brought by French colonizers had the most direct influence on the spatial formation and development of Morocco's contemporary urban fabric. An overview of how these modern institutions were initiated and how they operated during the French Protectorate (1912-1956) is necessary. This section reviews administrative changes brought by colonization, such as the introduction of Western government institutions, centralization of revenues from *waqf* properties, the French civil code and legal system, standardization of the land tenure system, and introduction of modern town planning in European quarters, all of which were instrumental in shaping the urban fabric in the decolonization phase, as well as contemporary planning and urban development policies.

Colonial Institutional Legacies: Centralization, Unification and Integration

In 1912, the French Protectorate, led by Resident General – Louis Hubert Lyautey, was declared. Unlike complete occupation and direct rule practiced in other colonized countries (like French Algeria, for example), Lyautey worked with the Moroccan government to ensure the indigenous "*medinias*" were preserved and foreign settlements were isolated, such that the 'natives' are not disrupted (Lyautey's *la politique indidène*) (Johnson, 1972). The French, therefore, simply retained royal authority, while introducing Western governmental institutions. As a result, the Protectorate led to the creation of two forms of power: traditional monarchial and governmental power through Western administrative institutions. Originally the political system was dependent on the Sultan and his personal connections with elite groups. The new colonial system distributed state power equally through a centralized system. Internal security (police) forces were established; rural administrations were to be controlled by a central

government. The French also established a cabinet of ministers each responsible for managing a specific sector such as agriculture, finance, health, justice etc. (Sater, 2016). The pluralistic system employed French civil controllers (*contrôleurs civils*) and native affairs (*affaires indigènes)* officers to ensure order. The roles of *qaid*s (Muslim local administrators) and *pasha*s (urban/regional commanders) were formally preserved. *Qaid*s and *pasha*s were to follow orders from the Sultan, who was guided by French officials. This meant that, technically, political control was in the hands of French colonial officials. However, due to the figurative power given to the Sultan under colonial rule, in the postcolonial era the King's legitimacy as protector of faith, unity, order and peace was preserved and his absolute power over the independent Kingdom was quickly restored.

Centralizing the *Waqf* Registry

Prior to the French invasion of Morocco, native populations employed a variety of indigenous judicial systems. Natives relied on Islamic *sharia* law, non-Islamic customs, or a combination of the two systems to maintain public order (Hoffman, 2010, p. 851). As a result, the French faced the challenge of maintaining pre-existing judicial systems, while creating new judicial institutions to administer and monitor indigenous procedures (Hoffman, 2010). Thus, under the French Protectorate legislative and judicial functions of government were separated, albeit centralized.

An example of maintaining and monitoring indigenous procedures can be seen in changes within the *waqf* (charitable endowment property) registry system. Although French colonists maintained the authority of the Sultan and kept the traditional hierarchy of provincial governors (*pashas*) and tribal leaders (*qaid*s), the French employed civic reviewers (*contrôleurs civils*) to oversee tax collection and public administration functions in general, including the management of *habous (*known as *waqf* interchangeably)* properties[16](Abun-Nasr, 1987, p. 280). A *Wazier* (*vizier*-Muslim official or minister) of

---

[16] There are two kinds of *habous* properties: family *habous* and public *habous*. Family *habous* was to be utilized by people determined by the endowment granter until their death, then the family *habous* becomes public *habous* for social and charitable benefit of the society.

Habous position was created in 1915. All revenues from *habous* properties had to be used for Ministry of Habous salaries and operational costs. Prior to that, *waqf* (charitable endowment) properties were decentralized and governed by families autonomously, leaving the government with minimal authority on public affairs (Abu-Lughod, 1987/2012). In the new system, the *nazir an-nuzzar* office was established and run by a ruler-appointed trustee to register and organize all *waqf* properties. *Waqf* or *habous* properties were primarily located in locally governed areas and contributed sufficient revenue for managing community needs and advancing Islamic and scientific education within their localities. The centralization of *habous* administration meant revenue from *habous* properties did not necessarily remain in their localities, as a result, isolated localities suffered the most. Without sufficient revenue, *habous* properties in isolated areas were unable to sustain their services and improve their properties[17].

Since *habous* lands were centrally located, foreign settlers were interested in buying this land. Two legal methods through the Islamic law system allowed for Europeans to purchase *habous* lands. First, the system of *istibdal* (exchange) whereby *habous* land could be "exchanged" for money or land that had to be used in the same manner. Second, the "renting in perpetuity" ruling allowed foreigners to own *habous* land, while maintaining their designated functions (Abun-Nasr, 1987, p. 281). As soon as *waqf* property management fell into the hands of government, transparency in managing *habous* properties and funds was been compromised and their functions in society today have been politicized (Abun-Nasr, 1987).

Colonial Legal System

Under French colonial Morocco, practice of *Sharia* law was also compromised. The French administration created a new system to maintain, regulate and administer Islamic and Berber law. The "*Berber Dahir* (Decree)" of 1930 was issued by the Moroccan Sultan allowing the French to "regulate"

---

[17] *Habous* could be olive plantations, businesses, urban buildings etc. *Habous* revenues were traditionally used to maintain local mosques, madrasas, fountains and public hammams.

the practice of Berber law (Hoffman, 2010; *Berber Dahir (Decree)*, 1930). Customary courts were established to house both existing Islamic judicial councils and the French custom courts. These courts dealt with land use and ownership disputes, established land inventories, managed land distribution, and division of estates and land use rights. Since council members who were selected by French officials and *qadi*s (Muslim judges) appointed by the Moroccan Sultan were the ones managing court cases, French influence was embedded in the practice of a mixed judicial court system (See Hoffman, 2010 for a more detailed account of Berber and Islamic customs and the French Protectorate legal system).

Standardization of the Land Tenure System Under Colonial Rule

As mentioned previously, under the French protectorate, a land system needed to be established for several reasons. These include, to organize the legal settlement of land, to ensure the security of colonial and foreign owned property, to maintain order in the countryside, and finally to adopt a landownership and registration system that would enable a capitalist society (Bouderbala, 1999). The colonial tenure system sought to systematically embed communities into a system of political control. Landownership in this context became a valued commodity. Although the French wanted to colonize Morocco, they tried to avoid the negative results of the Algerian colonization experience. Rather than utilizing eminent domain on government land (*blad al-makhzen*) through the Sultan's powers, a pluralistic system was employed. Native tribal land and *habous* properties were to be protected and opportunities for European acquisition of private and communal land were opened (Bouderbala, 1999). However, the French would later also define eminent domain laws to allow for the taking of land by the State for "public purpose" which Abu-Lughod (1980, p. 169) emphasizes meant "French purpose".

The *dahir* of land registration was passed on August 12, 1913 to ensure the legality of colonial property, thus, making Morocco more attractive for foreign investment. Private European lands were subject to French civil codes in that they would maintain absolute and individualist ownership. This was in stark contrast to the Moroccan land system that was adaptive to different situations and has a

community, tribal and family character (Bouderbala, 1999). European properties were also subject to the newly introduced landownership registration (*dahir* of 1913) through a land title that provided legal proof of ownership, exact location, area, and other specifications, such as mortgages and easements (Bouderbala, 1999, p. 53). By allowing sales, leasing and credit, agrarian land also entered the capitalist economy (Balgey, 2017). Under the new system, land tenure would be distributed among five domains: public state lands (*makhzen*), private by-right titled land (*melk*), religious endowment land (*habous*), military tribal land (*guich*), and collective land (*soulaliya*) (Balgey, 2015).

The imposed system of French laws and regulations in the colonial era enhanced laws governing ownership of real property by requiring the registration of land titles to be done through the French administration (Abu-Lughod, 1980). Native Moroccans were, therefore, at a disadvantage. A language barrier would prevent them from registering their land through the French administration. Legal devices soon became a tool for city planners and officials to systematically transfer "Moroccan resources to the French colonists and their new elegant urban quarters" (Abu-Lughod, 1980, p. 147). Needless to say, the introduction of French civil codes to the land system would soon interfere with inheritance traditions, divide community heirs, cause social conflicts, and contribute to the social stratification of Moroccan society (Abu-Lughod, 1980; Balgey, 2015).

In 1919, the Dahir (decree) on Collective Lands was adopted, permitting permanent settlement on collective lands in an attempt "to organize the administrative supervision of indigenous communities" (*Dahir on Collective Lands (Decree)*, 1919). This *dahir* put an end to nomadic lifestyle of tribes which was a security threat for colonial properties, and integrated them into the administrative land system (Bouderbala, 1999, p. 52). As a result of this system, tribal lands were fragmented into smaller village like settlements known as *douars*, which would be governed by local communes (*jama'as*[18]). This system allowed for total control and administration of rural society. The Director of Indigenous Affairs and

---

[18] *Jama'as* are local assemblies that deal with internal modes of management for collective lands such as accession to land, organization of collective area, and rules of sharing.

Intelligence Service became the guardian of community land. The commune *(jama'a)* was not to make any decisions regarding the land without authorization from the director. Today communal land is managed by the Minister of Interior. For example, the land on which a semi-informal settlement (*douar*) is located at the center of new town Tamansourt had to be acquired from the community settlers through a legal process involving the Ministry of Interior.

Colonial Influence on Urban Space: Native Quarters and Colonial Villes Nouvelles

In her groundbreaking book *Rabat – Urban Apartheid in Morocco*, American sociologist Janet Abu-Lughod analyzes in depth the many French implanted policies that prevented spatial intermixture between the French "foreigners" and the Moroccan "nationals" during the French Protectorate (1980). Her work suggests urban development under colonial rule in Morocco can be divided into two phases. In the first phase, between 1913-1923, cities were radically transformed by the addition of new modern quarters featuring infrastructure services, boulevards, open space and modern apartment blocks (Abu-Lughod, 1980; Miller, 2013, p. 92). Changes to the urban fabric during this phase can be attributed to Resident General Lyautey's vision and the work of French architect and urban planner, Henri Prost. Resident General Lyautey's efforts to keep traditional and modern governance sectors independent (*la politique indidène*) is perhaps best observed in the spatial planning endeavors of the Protectorate (Sater, 2016, p. 23). Lyautey selected architect and city planner Henri Prost to design "new imperial cities… with just the right degree of articulation with and insulation from the medinas" (Abu-Lughod, 1980, p. 145). Prost's tasks were to design modern additions for every major city (new towns and ports) and preserve native cities (only major streets on either side of the walls could be added) using the framework of the "dual city" (Abu-Lughod, 1980). Prost's plans placed the European quarters (*villes nouvelles*) around the existing *medina*s, hence limiting the ability for traditional *medinas* to grow. Therefore, as the Moroccan population increased naturally within the *medina* and with the migration of Moroccan populations from rural areas to urban areas in search for jobs, indigenes were forced to find housing in the outskirts of the

European quarters (*villes nouvelles*). They had no choice. There was no designated place for them to settle in Prost's urban development plans. His plan had miscalculated the population that needed to be housed in the future; he neglected "to allocate any land at all in his initial plan to accommodate a Moroccan population that was destined to grow tenfold in the next few decades" (Abu-Lughod, 1980, p. 160). As a result, Moroccans migrating to the urban areas were forced into unauthorized, self-built squatter settlements (*bidonvilles*).

During the first phase of colonial urban development, building standards and regulations such as street widths and alignments, building heights, land coverage, and construction standards were administered differently in different parts of the city to enable segregation of indigenes from foreigners. Planning, construction, and zoning laws prevented Moroccans from moving into the new quarters and Moroccans were also excluded from decision-making for their community. Taxes taken from indigenes were used for the development of French zones. Seventy percent of new arteries built during that time were in French zones and cities. Moroccan labor was used to build French cities that became the focus of improvement, hence draining resources from the economic base of the *medinas* (Abu-Lughod, 1980, p. 175). Urban and social amenities, such as hospitals, were also unequal. Land, labor and money needed to build new French zones were "drained from the Moroccan sector to subsidize the European" (Abu-Lughod, 1980, p. 195). Basically, resources from both Moroccans and Europeans were allocated disproportionately for Europeans (Abu-Lughod, 1980). Prost's plan was a failure because the elegant French quarters were built at high cost and did not consider the future needs of Moroccans, which led to what Abu-Lughod refers to as "separate and unequal development" (Abu-Lughod, 1980, p. 162).

The effects of French policies and Lyautey's plans were not simply spatial, but also social. Although Lyautey's plan was based on good intentions with the goal to preserve the heritage of the *medina*s, the physical separation of European quarters from native *medinas* led to a spatial, cultural and religious divide (Abu-Lughod, 1980, p. 142). He segregated Europeans in new cities with open spaces, with most modern conditions (boulevards, water, electricity, square gardens, buses/tramways), and confined Moroccans to the oldest cities that he asserted should be touched as little as possible. As a result

of planning under the French administration, the mid-1900s marked a shift in the urban hierarchy as foreign bourgeoisie settling around the "*medina*" pushed the indigenes to the outskirts of the European quarters (*villes nouvelles)* creating an even greater separation between European and native communities (Abu-Lughod, 1980). Abu-Lughod (1980) dubbed this imposed urban structure as "urban apartheid". Prost's plan, therefore, was a disaster in that it divided Moroccan society into a spatialized caste system that remained and solidified after Moroccan independence.

The second phase of colonial urban development, Abu-Lughod (1980) asserts, was between 1920-1947. It began after the first two *bidonvilles, Douar Doum* and *Douar Dabbagh*, emerged in 1921 as a result of the socio-spatial separations of the dual city. Moroccans with low wages, Abu-Lughod claims, had a second job, that was building their own housing (1980, p. 214). Indigenes continued to build substandard homes in the outskirts of European quarters on land they were not entitled to. Rapid population growth resulted in worsening slum conditions and a resultant call for their amelioration. The second phase, therefore, focused on solving the problems the resulted from Prost's spatial plan. One initial way the municipality of Rabat tried to control the chaotic growth of slums was by requiring building permits and enforcing use of more solid building materials (which were hard for poorer populations to obtain). However, more deliberative solutions to the housing shortage were needed. In 1946, Michel Ecochard, the next great colonial city planner in Morocco, attempted to provide subsidized housing on a large scale to fix the errors of the first phase of planning in the colonial era. In contrast with Prost's desire to preserve Rabat's medina, Ecochard was not concerned with the native history in Casablanca. His urban objective was to create jobs and places to live—it was about quantity, not quality. His first attempt was to relocate 700 families from one of the first *bidonvilles*. Ecochard designed an 8x8 meter "grid" to organize social housing units in a way that would allow for a density of 350 inhabitants per hectare - a density greater than that of one of the first *bidonvilles* of Casablanca (Abu-Lughod, 1980). He designed rows of single-story housing on minimal plots. Each 8x8 housing cell contained two habitable rooms and a WC.

Ecochard's first attempt was successful. His housing units solved for a number of critical urban issues – social, spatial, economic and geographic (Avermaete, 2010). As a transnational planner Ecochard's plans were developed to be "acculturated" to different contexts. The lack of a contextual or geographical bound plan allowed for the transferability of his social housing scheme to any other context. Ecochard's grid lived on for 30 years (Avermaete, 2010, p. 95). Until the 1980s, it was the principal planning strategy to provide housing for Morocco's growing population. Ecochard's 8x8 meter courtyard housing units were planned for horizontal urban growth. In later years, however, the grid was used as a basis for 'vertical urban growth' (Avermaete, 2010, p. 95).

By 1953, 1500 cellular houses were built and served by a school, clinic, police state, post office, shops, an industrial zone, and central business district, etc. The idea was residents could to live and work in one location without needing to commute. The idea was to relocate residents from the existing *Douar Dabbagh bidonville,* but the project ended up supplementing, not substituting for, the squatter settlement (Abu-Lughod, 1980, p. 229). It was a good attempt, but did not change the system of apartheid brought by the first phase of colonial development. Material and labor costs were high; therefore, soon the middle class took over the subsidized units since the poor did not make enough money to live there. Poorer populations were willing to sell or sublet their housing for food and other necessities, which at the time were more important to them than housing. This problem is not unique to Morocco's public housing efforts, but one that continues to be seen in contemporary, large-scale public housing initiatives, like the 2004 Cities without Slums Program (VSBP-*Villes sans Bidonvilles Programme*) and corresponding New Towns Program (VNP-*Villes Nouvelles Programme*).

<u>End of Colonization</u>

The early 1950s were a turning point as urbanization and population increased in the French zones. Colonial sections of cities were growing, as traditional sections of cities shrank. While there was an increase in size of the two *bidonvilles* of the 1920s, authorities did nothing but pass laws forbidding

permanent structures. In 1947-1956, French occupation and colonial rule ended. Even though political control was returned to indigenes, equality was hard to regain. The spatial and social "urban apartheid" created by the colonialists continued to grow in the postcolonial era as Moroccan citizens obtained private land registration titles (*melk*) that led to an urban, land-owning, elite class. After independence, tribal lands that had been taken over by foreign settlers during the protectorate were reclaimed by Moroccan private buyers creating an additional, agrarian land-owning elite class (Balgey, 2017). Much like 18th century Western societies, land tenure in Morocco became a privilege and defining factor in the social caste, a phenomenon that continues to be present in Morocco today. Ironically, however, as we will see next, the centralized system introduced during the colonial era strengthened the role of the Sultan and *makhzen* by extending their power to the rural areas (*blad el-siba*) (Daadaoui, 2011, p. 46).

IV.   Postcolonial Morocco: The *Bidonvilles* and the Growing Urban Divide

In the postcolonial era, the nascent class-divide grew as the Moroccan middleclass and indigenous elites took over European quarters and villas isolating the wealthy from the poor. A further divide was also created as Moroccan elites took over the administrative jobs of the former Europeans. Such a divide in class and fragmentation of the city had never existed among indigenes in the medinas before (Abu-Lughod, 1980).

Formation of the Moroccan State: Postcolonial Institutionalization of Traditional Makhzen

The emergence of modern state institutions in the Arab-Islamic world due to Western colonization had similar political and economic outcomes throughout the Global South. However, because Morocco's precolonial *makhzenian* governance system was based on a combination of Islamic principles, cultural rituals, and traditional tribal and social organization, the decolonization process in Morocco was unique. Essentially, the postcolonial modernized state government retained the core authority of the *makhzen* but expanded it to a much larger territory and institutionalized the precolonial

power traditions. Following the creation of Western administrative institutions during the colonial period, the power structure was divided into two spheres: The King as *Amir Al-Mumineen* (Commander of the Faithful Islamic community) and the King as head of the modern state. Both reinforce the King with absolute power due to his spiritual *shariefian* privilege and legitimacy. Two main practices have allowed the monarch to succeed in establishing a modern state that is engrained with an ancient, Islamic political system (Daadaoui, 2011). First, as head of the state and "Commander of the Faithful", the King delegates his royal powers to the prime minister (*wazier* in traditional system), who then delegates tasks to ministers, government officials and agents of authority in his cabinet through the use of *dahirs* (decrees). The practice of delegation reinforces Royal authority and spreads the Monarchy's power as the delegates all employ Royal power. Second, the King's traditional responsibility to resolve conflicts and maintain civic order and peace is practiced through the "power of arbitration" (Daadaoui, 2011). Governors select and delegate tasks to rural *qaid*s and urban *pashas*, who use the practice of arbitration to settle local urban and rural disputes. Daadaoui's (2011) study on the role of the *makhzen* in Moroccan state formation concludes that the process simply involved institutionalization and reorganization of the *makhzen*'s traditional power and authority, which he rightly calls "modern institutions with a traditional veneer" (Daadaoui, 2011, p. 59). The process could be simplified as a renewal of traditional modes of governance (ibid). The very notion of "constitutional monarchy", as Daadaoui (2011) points out, is problematic in that the Monarch in Morocco, until today, remains above the political and administrative system of governance.

Fundamentally, the precolonial *makhzen* was reformed and centralized through a Western mode of government. Capitalism, industrialization, administrative rationalization and militarism brought in during the colonial period also contributed to the modernization of Morocco (Giddens, 1990/1997; in Amirahmadi & El-Shakhs, 2012). Power was both centralized, by internal security forces, but also decentralized as rural areas still administered their communities through the decentralized system of precolonial times (Joffe, 1988). The way the Islamic ritual known as "*bay'a*", in which the Muslim community renews their pledge of allegiance to their religious leader, is performed today is perhaps the

best example of how traditional rituals have been institutionalized. Even today, the Ministry of the Royal Household, Protocol and Chancellery organizes an annual *bay'a* "Allegiance" Ceremony (also known as Moroccan Throne Day) whereby government officials re-pledge their loyalty to the King. Though rooted in religious tradition, this ritual has been instrumental in retaining the Monarchy's power today. As is expected, since the Protectorate, there have been more State structures and fewer institutions of civil and social organization. The 1962 Moroccan Constitution further legitimized the role of the Monarch by declaring him "*amir al-momeneen*" (commander of the *Islamic* faithful). Additionally, the Constitution institutionalized the Monarch's role by dividing the traditional role of the *makhzen* into an executive, legislative and judicial branch – thereby still preserving the King's absolute power over all State exercises (Constitution of Morocco 1962; Daadaoui, 2011, p. 61).

Reclaiming Colonized Land

Perhaps the most difficult part of Morocco's decolonization process was the reclaiming of colonized land. By the end of the Protectorate period about one million hectares of land was foreign-owned (equivalent to about 2.5 million acres). In 1912, the colonial administration created a commission to review all *makhzen* (State) properties and a *fatwa* (religious consultation) was made by the *ulema'* (Islamic scholars) of Fes recommending separation of the *makhzenian* property from the Monarch's property. This *fatwa* allowed private *makhzen* land to be used during the protectorate by colonial officials for administrative affairs. After independence, the State took measures to gradually replenish both foreign-owned land and private State land used for colonial administration. The process of reclaiming land in the postcolonial years was led by Morocco's national movement with the goal to erase all marks of colonial property. The primary objective of this land reform initiative was to redistribute the lands amongst the most deprived peasants who were robbed of their small-scale farming operations during colonial years.

In 1959 a *dahir* (decree) for the termination of the Perpetual Alienations of Enjoyment (APJ) started the land recovery process, collective lands were returned to their owners through the Trusteeship Council of the Ministry of Finance whereby the Ministry was assigned the role of looking out for families and collective owners. Under this system, the Ministry of Finance (later the Ministry of Interior) became the trustee for communal land, which means communal land is theoretically considered vacant unless needed by the State. This system allows the State to incorporate communal land into their domain when needed through a legal process since the Ministry of Interior is its guardian. As will be discussed in Chapter Five, this legal process was used to obtain occupied communal land in Tamansourt. By-right residents of the informal settlement *Douar El Harmel* went through this process of compensation and State acquisition of communal land.

Comprehensive Land Title Registration System

As established earlier, since the colonial period, *habous* lands have been controlled by the Ministry of Habous and Islamic Affairs (MHIA) and collective tribal land (*soulaliya*) is managed by the Ministry of Interior (MOI) therefore further complicating the process of land registration even today.

In 1962 a national cadaster was established to record land and real estate properties comprehensively, but the implementation process was slow and it was not until 1963 that colonial lands were transferred to the State private domain. The delay allowed about half of the foreign-owned land (one million hectares) to "escape" the legal control of the State since it was sold to Moroccan private buyers directly by foreign owners. This transaction interfered with the State's goal to reclaim and redistribute the land to improve the conditions of peasant farms. Although the colonial capitalist economy decreased, an elite class of Moroccan landowners increased consequently. Land taken by the State for public good through eminent domain, confiscation or sequestration became labeled as private State land. Land granted to tribes by the *makhzen* in exchange for military service was labeled as *Guich* land. These settlements are usually found in protection zones around the imperial cities (Fez, Meknes, Marrakech, Rabat). *Guich* land

is considered private State land (*melk*) and is listed under service land. Collective (*soulaliya*) lands were held in trust by the State for the benefit of their ethnic tribes (Balgley, 2019). Although a 1919 decree allowed collective lands to be registered to by-right holders, it was not until after the Protectorate (1912-1956), in 1969, that State authorities began working to convert collective land into private, titled land and, in fact, the first titles were issued just recently in 2017 (Balgley, 2019).

Agrarian Land Reform Framework

As mentioned previously, the aim relative to land rights after colonization was to benefit peasantry, however, the slow redistribution of colonial lands to peasant farmers, and the introduction of the 1969 Agricultural Investment Code, made it difficult to achieve the intended benefit for peasantry (Balgey, 2017). The Agricultural Investment Code had two main aspects that guided agricultural development policy in the post-independence era. The first was to focus investment in irrigated areas managed by the Ministry of Agriculture's Regional Office for Agricultural Development (French Acronym- ORMVA)[19]. These areas were the most productive lands taken by colonizers and reclaimed by the State; the State decided not to redistribute those areas in order to limit the fragmentation of agricultural holding. The second was to convert collective lands in irrigated areas into private property, which would make them legible and taxable (Balgey, 2017). However, collective lands managed by large families and, therefore, multiple heirs complicated the registration system. The process was managed by a colonial era office, the National Office of Irrigation (French Acronym-ONI)[20], which is now retitled to the Regional Office for Agricultural Development, Ministry of Agriculture and known by the acronym ORMVA (*Office Régionale de Mise en Valeur Agricole)*. The ONI sought to irrigate one million hectares of agricultural land per year.

---

[19] Regional Office for Agricultural Development, Ministry of Agriculture (*Office Régionale de Mise en Valeur Agricole* - ORMVA).
[20] National Office of Irrigation (*L'Office National de Irrigation du Maroc* – ONI), later known as ORMVA.

The land reform process was bureaucratic and required technical competence, which hampered implementation. With the redistribution process being slow and ineffective, the Government invested in existing, highly productive plantations and created a publicly-owned commercial company named SODEA (Société de Développement Agricole) to manage established plantations based on a system of share distribution to workers (Bouderbala, 1999). This discussion on agrarian land policy is relevant to the case of new town Tamesna. The land on which Tamesna is built was a former vineyard during the French protectorate. After the colonial period, the land was taken over by the agricultural company, SODEA. Since then, the company's employees continued to live on and cultivate the land. To this day (2021), an informal settlement, *Douar Sodea* (named after the company SODEA) exists in the south-western part of the newly developed town. The informal settlement was built and occupied by farmers and workers who cultivated a grape plantation in the same location during the colonial era. When new town Tamesna was announced in 2004, it meant *Douar Sodea* had to be removed to make way for development. A more detailed discussion on the status of *Douar Sodea* in relation to new town Tamesna will be presented in Chapter Five.

Decolonization and Urban/Spatial Reform

Many factors contributed to the complexity of the decolonization process. State actors knew there needed to be economic and cultural integration; however, foreign funds were drying out causing a disruption to the economy. Public employment was increased, rather than creating industrial jobs. Natural population increase and rural to urban migration increased the population in cities. As established by Abu-Lughod (1980), even after the colonialists/foreigners left, they left behind the dual-city they had created. Housing shortages and spatial class segregation were the result of the harsh "urban apartheid" imposed by the French in the colonial era. The isolation of the wealthy from the poor was never a feature of traditional *medinas*.

During the decolonization period, the level of legal housing construction was low, with only a minority with money building in legal construction. The most rapid development was in the poorest areas and this construction was largely illegal. Laws prohibiting the creation of permanent structures, yet 'tolerating' the temporary ones in place, caused more informal settlements to appear. In the 1960s, direct investment and "self-help" concepts were introduced by the Moroccan government. These initiatives looked to upgrade *bidonvilles* by adding sanitary features and shared facilities, rather than subsidizing minimal housing construction. However, by 1967, housing funding was reduced. The government realized that direct government assistance through construction is expensive, whereas "providing objects of collective consumption" such as streets, sewers and water taps allows the poor to contribute with more effective labor (self-subsidy) (Abu-Lughod, 1980, p. 331). In short, indirect assistance was proven as less expensive. In the 1970s it was clear that there was an urban crisis, so a new spatial planning approach was adopted starting at the national, then regional, city and rural areas in descending order. In 1973-1977, a five-year National Economic Plan was created with no simultaneious master urban plan. The idea was that by planning for the economy, creating jobs and increasing wages, it would be possible to create effective urban plans. Again, in the 1970s, in keeping with global trends, there was a new attitude of tolerance for *bidonvilles*. There was no law enforcement to prevent the conversion of impermanent structures into permanent structures (e.g., made of blocks and cement). As a result, the housing stock in *bidonvilles* changed greatly. Abu-Lughod describes observing the transformation of one particular *bidonville* in Rabat, *El Hajja bidonvilles,* in 1972 from a *bidonville* to a "new Medina" with permanent structures. People had begun to take economic development and planning in their own hands (1980, pp. 337–338).

V.   Contemporary Morocco: The Return of the *Villes Nouvelles* with Morocco's 2004 New Town Initiative

<u>Housing Crisis and Poverty as a Result of Urban Apartheid</u>

French colonizers left behind three types of cities—each of which presents its own set of problems. These are: the untouched traditional 'old' cities, modern French cities, and informal slum cities. French modern cities required a large number of resources to be maintained and the resources initially brought by European colonizers to plan and build modern cities were not left behind. Moroccans were left with the challenge of distributing their marginal resources between maintaining the modern, preserving the traditional, and resolving the urban problems that emerged towards the end of the colonial era (namely the *bidonvilles*). As such, limited resources coupled with a new class divide produced an unequal distribution of resources and uneven development (Abu-Lughod, 1980). The Moroccan experience was typical of other de-colonizing societies across Africa. The emergent African (*or indigenous*) bourgeoisie class embraced the values brought by colonialism, but refused to be *ruled* by "foreign personnel" (Ekeh, 1975, p. 96). The divide between natives and foreigners under colonialism was subsequently replaced by a divide between natives[21] and 'Westernized'[22] Africans. Put simply, the "foreign personnel" of the colonial era were replaced by an elite, Westernized personnel in the postcolonial era who embraced Western approaches to urban problems (Ekeh, 1975, p. 99). The alteration of Echohard's horizontal housing units to vertical apartment blocks is an example of adapting planning schemes from the European model established by French authorities in the colonial era.

Since their independence from the French in 1956, three main concerns haven characterized slum eradication policies in Morocco: (1) the need to ensure order and security, (2) the notion of urban poverty as a social and economic ill, and (3) the concern with maintaining an orderly image of the Moroccan city, one that preserves a sense of pride in its beauty (Johnson, 1972, p. 132). Limited resources, however, only

---

[21] Here native refers to a subset of the African population that was not Western educated.
[22] Ekeh (1975) refers to 'Westernized' African populations as those that have been Western educated.

allowed for limited and disjointed efforts (Johnson, 1972, p. 9). While an interest in creating a holistic model to overcome slums existed since the late 1950s, it was the 1965 riots in Casablanca that caused serious concern and unease in the nation (Bogaert, 2011; Johnson, 1972). The focus of policy became social and economic issues, the need to restore peace, and establish authority and politically control cities (Johnson, 1972). In 1968, in light of the perpetual growth of urban problems, officials recognized the urgent need to devote more efforts towards the development and management of Morocco's growing cities. The Moroccan Government established the Center for Experimentation, Research and Training (CERF, *Centre d'Experimentation, de Recherche de Formation*) in the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning to investigate the ongoing problems of slums, insufficient housing, and broader urban problems. An entity comprised of primarily French experts and French trained professionals, CERF understandably relied on French concepts and precedents when presenting their findings and recommendations. The CERF provided a detailed report of the situation and calculated estimates of the amount of land needed to build the necessary number of housing units. However, no means of financing or land acquisition were proposed. Development plans in the decades after independence had no clearly articulated urban development strategies. Consequently, attempts to overcome the problem of informal settlements both during and directly after colonization have been marginally successful.

To date, several basic responses to informal settlements have been used: 1) issuing building code revisions, 2) providing land for *autoconstruction*[23], 3) offering government built social housing units, and 4) performing *in situ* upgrading of informal settlements (Martin & Mathema, 2008). Despite several efforts, slum populations increased as the Moroccan urban population went "from: 29% in 1960 to 41% in 1980, and in 2002 it reached 57%" (CMI, 2019). In the 1980s, the Moroccan Government established an agency to specifically deal with the problem of informal settlements, namely the National Agency for the Prevention of Sub-Standard Housing (ANHI, *Agence Nationale de lutte contre l'Habitat Insalubre*) (Martin & Mathema, 2008). However, slums were still on the rise as a result of an extended drought that

---

[23] *Autoconstruction* projects refer to land given for self-build projects, also known as site and service programs.

hit Morocco between 1994-1995 and 1999-2000 that caused rural populations to migrate closer to urban centers resulting in the swelling of existing slums and the emergence of additional slum settlements (AFD, n.d.).

As such, the aforementioned strategies were only able to curb or limit slums from growing and not eradicate them. They each failed in disparate ways. Building codes were not enforced, land provided for self-construction was sold by recipients, government-built housing units were rented out, and *in situ* upgrading projects failed to satisfy the increasing housing demand. Additionally, without planning for evacuated settlements, new settlers could occupy vacated areas in slums and recipients of government housing support could sell or rent their given units and remain in their '*informal*' homes. Piecemeal responses to informal settlements have, therefore, proven unsuccessful. Thus, towards the end of the 20th century, the Moroccan Government under guidance from a newly enthroned progressive Monarch, King Mohammed VI, turned to larger national policies to address the two main indicators of poverty that the Moroccan society has continued to suffer from since their independence in 1956: sub-standard housing and unemployment.

National Housing and Resettlement Initiatives in the 21st century

In 2004, the Cities without Slums Program (*Villes sans Bidonvilles Programme*-VSBP) was inaugurated by King Mohammed VI. Its goal: to transform Morocco's cities into "environments that are conducive to good living conditions, conviviality and dignity, to turn these spaces into hubs for investments and production, and into cities that are attached to their specificity and to the originality of their character" (King Mohammed VI, 2006 in Al Omrane Group, 2010). The program's announcement came after a series of terrorist attacks were carried out in 2003 by extreme Islamists of the *Salafia Jihadia* militant group living in the heart of Casablanca's urban slums. The Moroccan government acknowledged the scale of the slum problem and the urgent need for a robust *national* slum clearance program (World Bank, 2006). The VSBP initiative was formed to clear Morocco's growing slums by facilitating

households to gain access to partially subsidized housing including basic urban services. Three forms of field intervention were employed: relocation of slum populations to serviced plots, rehousing vulnerable populations, and *in situ* upgrading (Al Omrane Group, 2010). The most employed intervention (80% of cases) was physically preparing land for the recipients to construct shelters at their own pace, as was preferred by many beneficiaries.

The VSBP involved many actors, such as the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning, international donors, local governments, commercial banks, microfinance institutions and private sector developers. It established the Ministry of Interior as the powerful oversight entity charged with ensuring policy implementation and execution of the project (AFD, n.d.). A City Contract bound the major partners involved in the VSBP. The process involved actors on the state level, governors on local government level, private-public partnerships on the implementing ground level, as well as other social development actors, NGOs, and slum dwellers' community development organizations. The number of housing units needed to house the 327,000 targeted slum households was close to 50,000 units/year (from 2004 to 2012). The deadline for declaring Morocco's cities "slum-free" was initially set to 2015 but has since been shifted to 2020. In 2010, officials confirmed that the VSBP had reached 70% of their goal to "clear slums in 83 cities and urban centers by year 2012" (Al Omrane Group, 2010).

Contemporaneously to the VSB initiative, Morocco embraced an international trend whereby governments around the world, although more so in the Global South, began proposing new town developments as solutions to rapid population growth in major cities. It is important to note that the concept of new towns and decentralized development is not *new* to the Moroccan landscape, nor is the political will to continue the colonial tradition of new town planning (See Appendix 1 for a timeline of new towns built/planned in Morocco since the early 1900s). In his 1981 speech, the late King Hassan II expressed the need to decentralize development efforts through creating smaller satellite urban areas in proximity to existing densifying cities.

"... There is no longer any reason to expand cities such as Rabat, Casablanca, Meknes and Marrakech. Rather, it is necessary to build 30 or 40 kilometers from these cities, new cities capable of sheltering 40 to 50,000 inhabitants. We must stop developing and enlarging our cities in a disorderly [anarchic] fashion. Instead, it will be necessary to establish neighborhood plans of 40,000 to 50,000 inhabitants, which will be proper small agricultural, agro-industrial cities, cities where professional training would be practiced, cities that can be self-sufficient and evolve in a healthy economic and climatic environment…"

> King Hassan II, July 9th 1981 (translated from French quote in National Council for Housing and Urban Planning "New Towns, New Cities" Policy Creation Report 2004, p. 4).

The above speech came just months after The National Institute of Planning and Town Planning (*Institut National d'Aménagement et d'urbanisme* - INAU) was created in March 1981. INAU, a training institution and research center, was quickly tasked with studying the persistent problems of slums. Still, King Hassan II's speech was not the first time the Government proposed a focus on deconcentrating urban development by concentrating on smaller urban areas which could become "satellites" to larger existing urban agglomerations (Johnson, 1972, p. 62). In fact, the first time a "policy of decentralization to secondary urban centers" was promoted in the Moroccan context was in the 1950s by French architect and urban planner Ecochard. That is to say that the planning system that was instituted immediately following the second world war, has "provided the basis for almost all approaches to urban problems in Morocco", the VNP being one of them. As Johnson claims, both the best and the worst planning and development policies can be traced back to this innovative era (Johnson, 1972, p. 22).

The New Towns Program *(Villes Nouvelles Programme*-VNP) was formed in 2004 to effectively curb sprawl and rationally plan for future growth. The goal was to create fifteen planned economic centers that would radiate outwards. *Villes nouvelles* (new towns) would include public services such as schools and health care as well as other everyday urban needs and are imagined as self-sufficient entities.

Similar to the VSBP, the VNP was initiated by the Ministries of Housing, Interior and Finance on the

state level, funded by loans from the French Development Agency (AFD, *Agence Française de*

Développement) – a donor agency of the French government, and implemented by a semi-public entity,

Al Omrane Holding Company. International developers were also involved in designing and building

housing schemes in the new towns using the private-public partnership model. Currently four of the

fifteen suggested new towns have begun construction outside major cities: Tamansourt near Marrakesh

(began 2004), Tamesna near Rabat (began 2007), Sahel Lakhyayta outside of Casablanca (began 2008),

and Chrafate outside of Tangier (began 2009). The first two new towns, Tamesna and Tamansourt, are

nearing completion and majority occupied. The aforementioned two new towns are the subject of my

research which follows.

Site visits to both Tamansourt outside of Marrakesh and Tamesna outside of Rabat at the early

stages of this dissertation were invaluable for our understanding of the scale of the new towns and their

current state. My initial exploratory visits in the summers of 2015, 2016, and 2017 revealed that the

VSBP and VNP were discussed interchangeably both by elite officials and program beneficiaries.

Although both the Cities without Slums Program and the New Towns Program were concerned with

creating an "aesthetic order of urbanism"[24] they had somewhat contradictory goals (Roy 2014:144).

While the former utilized an urban renewal model focusing on complete eradication of slums, housing

former slum-dwellers and the massive resettlement of residents living in unregulated rural villages

(known as *douars*), the latter was concerned with provision of affordable lower- and middle-class

housing, promoting social mix, and decongesting major cities utilizing the neoliberal model of privatized

public purpose development. Although each initiative had a specific goal to begin with, the two

trajectories eventually came together to achieve the slum eradication goal of the VSBP and to fill the

increasing demand for affordable housing. Together the two programs are considered the largest efforts to

---

[24] Borrowing Ghertner and Roy's description of India's Slum-free Cities program as a response to "aesthetic impropriety" (Ghertner 2011:1163; Roy 2014).

control *bidonvilles* to date. Poor administrative organization and the unintended merging of the contradictory program intentions, however, have caused consequential effects on the development and progress of the new towns. In Chapter Five I go into more detail on the political process under which the New Towns Program (VNP) was established.

Chapter Four: Research Design and Methodology

Introduction

This research project is a qualitative study exploring the lived experience in towns created under Morocco's 2004 New Towns Program. In discussing the value of qualitative research design and methodologies, Moustakas (1994, p. 21) contends that "studies of human experiences are not approachable through quantitative methods". Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p. 5) explain that qualitative researchers "study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them". Creswell (2003, p. 181) notes that since qualitative research takes place in the natural setting it allows the researcher to develop a "level of detail" about the phenomenon at hand while also being "highly involved in actual experiences of the participants". Unlike the tightly preconfigured nature of quantitative research designs, qualitative research is emergent. Denzin and Lincoln (2000, pp. 4–5) note that qualitative researchers "turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self". As such it allows the inquirer the flexibility of refining and redirecting questions such that to find the best places to learn about the central phenomenon under study (Creswell, 2003, pp. 181–182). This allows the researcher to build a complex, broad, and holistic picture that encompasses the social phenomena at hand.

While there are many approaches to qualitative studies, five of the most commonly utilized strategies include: ethnographies, grounded theory, case studies, phenomenological, and narrative research designs. There is some overlap across these frameworks. My approach is a case study research design using qualitative data collection techniques. I chose the case study approach because it is especially useful when investigating "a contemporary phenomenon" (i.e., Morocco's new town experiment) within its "real-life context" (Yin, 1984/2014). Furthermore, case study research seeks to answer "how" and "why" questions about a "contemporary set of events" over which the researcher has little or no control (Yin, 1984/2014, pp. 4, 14). Since my central research questions (detailed below) are

"how" questions that seek to understand Morocco's new town planning experiment a case study research design is most appropriate.

Since "how" and "why" questions do not sufficiently point the researcher to "what" they should study, case study research typically involves developing some theoretical statements or propositions as part of the design phase. Propositions are used to direct the researcher's attention to the things that should be examined within the scope of the study (Yin, 1984/2014, p. 30). However, according to Yin (1984/2014, p. 30) it is not uncommon for some studies to have legitimate reasons not to enlist propositions. In my research I chose not to enter the field with preconceived hypotheses and propositions. Many theories and discussions on new towns, rational planning, and high modernism have a Western bias as they are predominantly linked to the Western standards of modernization and development. As such, for my research, rather than entering the field with presupposed propositions or hypotheses about the studied phenomena, my goal was to come up with propositions that were grounded in the observations, interviews and data. Nevertheless, apriori propositions are important as they help tell the researcher "where" to look in order to find relevant evidence. Therefore, I utilized a theoretical framework, namely Lefebvre's Spatial Triad Theory, to guide my data collection and analysis (detailed below in theoretical lens/conceptual framework section). By setting aside theoretical constructs my goal was to come up with more practical and context related themes and ideas about Morocco's 21st century new town experiment.

The practical goal of this research is to reflect on the New Towns Program as a planning policy. By defining the New Towns Program as the "case," I am engaging a single-case design. However, to deepen my investigation and analysis of the program my design involves paying attention to units and subunits of analysis at more than one level (See Figure 4-1). I, thus, employed an embedded, single-case design. Yin (1984/2014, p. 55) suggests there are two variants of single-case studies: holistic design and embedded design, each with its strengths and weaknesses. An embedded design is useful for focusing and guiding case study inquiry by assigning subunits of analysis. In my research, in order to document and assess the New Towns Program, I engaged the perspectives of different actors (subunits of analysis) involved in the process of new town production. The diagram below lists the different perspectives I

considered (i.e., planners and elite professionals, residents, everyday users, civic leaders and my perspectives as a participant observer gathered in the form of field memos) (See Figure 4-1). The major weakness of an embedded approach is that by focusing on the data obtained by subunits (for example resident's interviews) this could lead to the failure to reflect on of the larger unit (Yin, 1984/2014, p. 55). Since an important part of this dissertation is to reflect on planning policy, I do not anticipate this pitfall to be a major concern. The main purpose of Chapter Nine is to consolidate the data obtained by subunits which was presented in Chapters Five-Seven (empirical chapters) to reflect on the new town policy as a social and planning experiment.

Figure 4-1. Diagram of the Embedded, Single-Case Design.
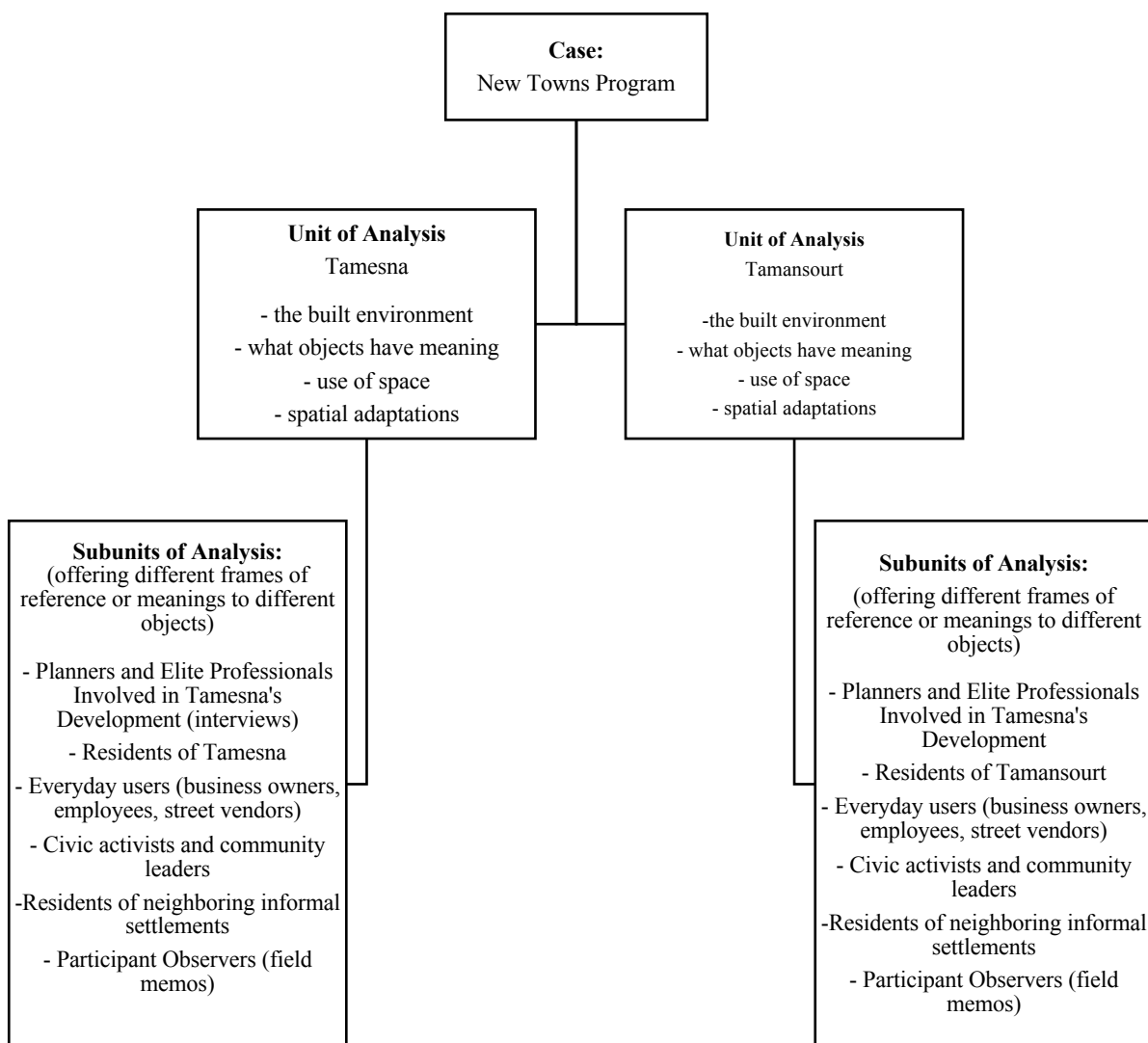
An embedded case study design was also selected because the ultimate goal of my research is to reflect on urban theory from a non-western context. As was highlighted briefly in Chapter One (the introduction), the fundamental question central to the urban studies field "*what constitutes a city?* or *what constitutes the urban?* has been historically dominated by empirical studies from Euro-American cities (Roy 2007). In following post-colonial urbanists and critics of urban theory, my goal is to diversify the urban subject by focusing on Morocco's new towns as centers of knowledge production. I focused on collecting data from those who engage with the new town on a daily basis (subunits of analysis) in order to interpret the New Towns Program from its unique social and cultural context.

I.   The Research Design

According to Yin (1984/2014, p. 240), the research design is "a plan that logically links the research questions with the evidence to be collected and analyzed in a case study, ultimately circumscribing the types of findings that can emerge." In what follows I will start by stating my research questions, the theoretical lens that guided my data collection process, the selected case studies and the units of analysis to be studied. Next, I detail the methods of data collection and the analytical procedures used to make meaning of the data collected. Finally, I address and acknowledge the limitations of this research design and methodology.

Research Questions

My research questions derive from a review of the urban studies literature concerning new towns, rational planning, and high modernist development, as well as the particular literature available on Morocco's 21st century housing and resettlement programs and the 2004 New Towns Program, in particular. As was highlighted in Chapter Two, new towns around the world have historically failed, yet we continue to see them offered up as the panacea to all urban ills especially in the Global South (cf. Watson, 2014; Wakeman, 2016; Provoost, 2015). Two central questions in this literature have been *"why*

do new towns and centralized planning programs fail?" and *"why do we continue to value new towns as planning remedies?"* The explanations to these questions are predominantly technical, and from the viewpoint of elite professionals and political actors involved. The lived experiences and the voices of those consuming the newly built environment are seldom brought into the conversation. A review of the recent literature on Morocco's 2004 New Town Policy also identifies the program as a failed policy experiment (Ballout, 2017). While there is a vast literature on new towns as modes of urbanization, in general, and on the Moroccan case, in particular, there is surprisingly little research that derives from the lived experience of new town dwellers. As such, my research objective is to document and assess the process of implementing Morocco's new towns through understanding the lived experience of the new town dwellers. My central research question is: *What does Morocco's 2004 New Towns Program tell us about urbanization and processes of planning in the Global South?* My empirical research questions are as follows: *How has Morocco's 21st century new town experiment played out both for the planners involved and for the residents? How do interactions between people and place and planners and space influence the built environment?* That is, *do new town dwellers have the ability to contribute to, alter or redefine the space that has been imposed upon them by state governments and planners? If so, how?* Relative to the question of replicability, I ask: *What can we learn from the current situation of the Tamesna and Tamansourt that can help inform future new towns in Morocco and the Global South?*

The questions that guide this research include:

1. Why did the Moroccan Government turn to a new town strategy in the wake of rising urbanization rates?

2. Why do people in Morocco choose to live in a new town?

3. How have people adapted to life in a new town?

4. How is space (re)produced in the new town?

5. How is the new towns program performing as a planning solution?

6. How can our understanding of the local situation in Morocco's new towns help better manage both existing and future planned new towns in Morocco and the Global South?

My goal is to answer the above questions from three distinct angles: that of the elite professionals who planned the space, the everyday resident who inhabits the space, and the passers-by who experience the and perceive the space from a distance. Lefebvre's Spatial Triad model, outlined below, structured my research and data collection to focus on the social production of space in the Moroccan new town.

Theoretical Lens

Yin (1984/2014, p. 31) notes, that without defined propositions one might be "tempted to cover "everything"" about the cases. My data collection is guided by the three elements that make up Lefebvre's Spatial Triad. In his Production of Space book, Lefebvre (1974/1991) demonstrates the importance of understanding Space under the power structures of capitalism. Like other objects or commodities, space for Lefebvre is actively produced (1974/1991). Policies, planning documents, site plans, billboards, television ads and people all produce space—or contribute to its production. According to Lefebvre's theory on the production of space, any given state-built space is conceived and imagined twice—first by the state, but then by those whose lives occupies this space. The combination of the 'conceived/imagined space', the 'real/material/built' space and the 'lived experiences of inhabitants' make up the 'fully lived space'. My goal is to analyze the New Towns Program from each of the three elements Lefebvre claims contribute to the production of space. The first, is the conceived space. The conceived space is the space of "scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers" (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 38). New towns, therefore, are conceived spaces – whether or not they are built, the mere existence of a plan, a rendering or a video advertisement makes them a *space* or object worth investigating. The state's 'conceived' vision: a bird's eye view of the planned space. This might be thought of as the view from above—of high modernist apartment blocks, manicured lawns,

boulevards lined with palm trees and central commercial strips. On the one hand, this space is occupied figuratively by state elites, urban planners and architects and is materialized through blueprints and master plans. On the other hand, the second 'conceived' space is occupied by the dreams, aspirations and imaginations of the new town dwellers, the local residents, or even by those who drive by endless billboards advertising the new town on Morocco's highways. The second of Lefebvre's triad, is the lived space. The lived space comes to light when the abstract conceptualizations of space (conceived space) become a reality. It is the space as it is directly lived by the imaginations and expectations of 'inhabitants' and 'users' (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 39). The third is the perceived space. The social practices, adaptations and reappropriations of imagined space make up the perceived space. It is the material result of both the imaginations of elites and inhabitants as well as the everyday reality and can be observed by users of a space and passers-by alike. The diagram below shows how I plan to utilize Lefebvre's framework to better understand first, the process of planning and implementing a state's utopian vision and its influence on the production of space. Second, the lived experience of those who occupy the state envisioned 'utopian' space (i.e., the new town) and third, how they contribute to producing a heterotopic, real 'lived space' (i.e., the built perceived space) (See Figure 4-2).

Figure 4-2. Lefebvre's Spatial Triad as a lens from which to observe the New Town.

Materialism-Concrete Space
    Ex. Existing physical elements
    measurable, # of apt. blocks
    Street dimensions
    routes, networks, patterns
    body in space

Spatial Practices

View Point: Observer Documentation of
Existing Conditions and Current Use of
Space by Users

'Perceived Space'

Subjectivity + Human Experience (Heterotopia)
    Ex. Real space
    People's sense-making
    local knowledge/culture
    sense of belonging
    place making
    people's feelings/aspirations/
    experiences/actions
    use of space

Central Question:
*How do the evolving planning processes and
lived experiences of new town dwellers
contribute to the production of space?*

Idealism-Abstract Space (Utopia)
    Ex. Policy
    Idealized, imagined space
    Plans/Blueprints/Billboards

View Point: Planners and Technocrats
    + Future Users

View Point: Users and Inhabitants

Representations Of Space

Representation Spaces

'Conceived Space'

'Lived Space'

<u>Linking Data to Theoretical Lens</u>

Lefebvre's Spatial Triad led me to observe and collect data in the new towns from three concurrent vantage points —that of professional elites, residents, and participant observers. I have dedicated three individual chapters to present the views of each of the aforementioned actors and to reflect on their experiences with imagining, planning, consuming, and adapting to the new towns. Chapters Five, Six and Seven present my empirical findings and make up the core empirical chapters of this dissertation. In Chapter Five, I present Morocco's VNP from the point of view of elite professionals. I focus on the questions: How are Morocco's new towns conceived by technocrats/officials, what are their motivations? How are the towns imagined, planned, presented, and reflected upon by professionals? In Chapter Six, I present Tamesna and Tamansourt from the point of view of current residents. I focus on the question: How are the new towns imagined, expected, experienced and reflected upon by their inhabitants? And finally, in Chapter Seven I present my own material analysis of Tamesna and Tamansourt as a participant observer. I focus on the questions: How have the new towns materialized? How have they been adapted and re-appropriated to meet the everyday needs of locals? What spatial

practices define Morocco's new towns today? The analysis and discussion in each of these three empirical chapters produce the reflections on theory and policy presented in Chapter Eight and Nine, respectively.

<u>Defining the Case and the Unit(s) of Analysis</u>

According to Yin (1984/2014, p. 34) a case is defined as a "real-life phenomenon that has some concrete manifestation." Morocco's 2004 New Towns Program is the central phenomenon under study in this dissertation. The Program's manifestation can be studied by examining new towns built under this urban policy. I selected two new towns as my primary units of analysis, namely Tamesna and Tamansourt. The actors involved in each new town are the embedded units of analysis (See Figure 4-1). The embedded units of analysis help reveal the various ways the New Towns Program is imagined, perceived and experienced based on the perspectives of the many different actors involved (i.e., public officials, elite professionals, architects, planners, residents, civic leaders, everyday users of the space).

Units of Analysis. Two new towns were selected as units of analysis. The first is New Town Tamesna, located about 20km from the capital of Rabat and the second is New Town Tamansourt, located about 14km from the city of Marrakech. Tamesna and Tamansourt were the obvious locations to study for several reasons: first, they are the first of fifteen planned new towns to be implemented under Morocco's New Towns Program and are currently at their final stages of implementation. This means they have had time to mature and develop. Additionally, they are largely occupied which allows for a retrospective account of their development process and for an assessment of the lived experience of producing and living in them from both the perspectives of planners and residents. Second, they are both being implemented by the same private-public company created by the Moroccan government and managed by the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism, namely, Al Omrane. Third, in recent years (2010 onwards) both Tamesna and Tamansourt have been making national headlines relative to their observed 'failure' and therefore warrant further investigation. Finally, Tamesna and Tamansourt have been identified as the

'test' cases (or precedents) for the New Towns Program at large—meaning findings from this research can practically inform the planning and implementation of the rest of the fifteen proposed new towns in Morocco.

Although new towns Tamesna and Tamansourt have several underlying similarities they also have significant differences that provide for a rich comparison. Tamansourt was the first to be implemented, its construction began in 2004 immediately after the New Towns Program was launched by the Moroccan government and when the economy was decent. Tamansourt is located further inland in the Prefecture of Marrakech and occupies an area of 1931 hectares (4772 acres). It is planned with 90,000 housing units intended for 450,000 inhabitants (Al Omrane, 2013) (See Figure 4-3).

Figure 4-3. Left: Site plan of New Town Tamesna, Rabat. Right: Site plan of New Town Tamansourt, Marrakech. Source: Al Omrane Tamesna and Al Omrane Tamansourt.
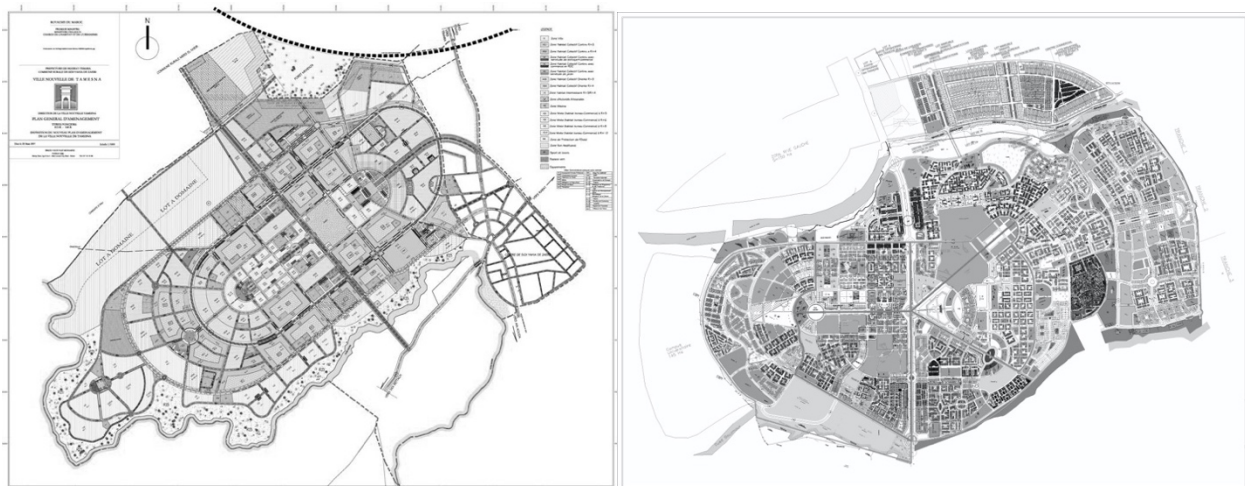
Tamesna, on the other hand, began to be constructed in 2007, on the verge of the 2008 financial crisis. Although Tamesna is almost half the size and expected density of Tamansourt, it has received national and royal attention as a result of its media portrayal as a 'failure' due to disinvestment from international real estate developers in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis. Tamesna is located 20 km away from the political capital of Rabat and is built on 840 hectares (2076 acres) of extremely fertile soil that was a vineyard during the French colonization period in Morocco (1912-1956). Tamesna is planned for 50,000 housing units intended to house 250,000 inhabitants by the year 2020 (Al Omrane, 2013).

Between 2015-2017, I made three exploratory visits to Morocco. During those visits I conducted interviews with elite professionals and academic researchers regarding the topic of new towns. I also visited Tamesna and Tamansourt on several occasions and drove around to get a sense of the scale and extent to which each new town had been implemented and occupied. I then spent the Fall of 2018 (September-December) in Tamesna and the Spring of 2019 (January-April) in Tamansourt. I decided to visit Tamesna first because of the richness of its situation, but also because it has a more manageable scale from which to begin. I was also more familiar with the Rabat area and had already established contacts in Tamesna during prior research visits. With generous funding from the Clarence S. Stein Institute for Urban and Landscape Studies ($10,000), I was able to spend six months in the two new towns. In both new towns, I used an online housing rental website and rented on a month-to-month basis. I hired two young Moroccan research assistants who were sisters. They are of Berber origin and spoke and translated swiftly between Darija, French, Berber and Arabic. They are from a small city about 120km northeast of Rabat. I planned to provide housing for my research assistants in Tamesna and Tamansourt because they did not have their own mode of transportation, and public transportation to and from Tamesna and Tamansourt was clearly inefficient. However, when I searched online for rentals advertised in Tamesna and Tamansourt there were only few options. It quickly became clear that the most feasible and efficient solution was to have the two research assistants stay with me and my family. This decision later proved to be an added benefit. We were able to plan for spontaneous interview meetings and translate and transcribe interviews at any time of day when we were not out in the field. It also became a rich cultural exchange experience and sincere friendship. In Tamesna, I rented a three-bedroom apartment. In Tamansourt, I rented a two-story townhouse (attached villa). Both landlords had clearly bought property in Tamesna and Tamansourt as a rental investment. Neither of them was familiar with the local situation and both relied heavily on a guard who managed their property maintenance and interacted with renters, plumbers, gardeners, and electricians when needed.

II.   Methods of Data Collection and Analytical Procedures

As mentioned earlier, the case study approach allows for a detailed and in-depth exploration of a complex phenomenon within its real-life context. Many methods of data collection can be used to explore and describe a phenomenon within its own setting. Yin (1984/2014, p. 105) identifies six of the most commonly used methods in case study research: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant-observations, and physical artifacts. This list, Yin notes, is not exhaustive. Other methods used include photographs, film, video and street ethnography (1984/2014). Since different methods have different strengths and weaknesses, relying on multiple sources of evidence is highly recommended in case study research. In fact, Yin notes that many methods are highly complementary and, therefore, a good case study should rely on as many sources as possible (Yin, 1984/2014, p. 105).

As a qualitative research project, this project followed a nonlinear research path (Neuman, 2006). This means that I proceeded in a nonlinear, cyclical and iterative path towards collecting and interpreting the primary data (Neuman, 2006). I went back-and-forth between different methods (i.e., interviews, observations, document analysis etc.), as well as between different sites of analysis. For example, while residing in one new town, I conducted windshield surveys in other nearby new towns, informal settlements and neighboring developments not identified as primary units of analysis. I also revisited different neighborhoods within the studied new town once it was clear that more data collection or clarification was needed after interviews were transcribed. I translated and transcribed interviews on a daily basis while in the field. My own field notes were also typed and embedded in the interview transcripts. My field notes included observations, significant environmental factors such as sounds and noises heard or artifacts found, people present and, emerging concepts from the initial analysis that helped guide where to sample from next. For instance, when several interviewees in Tamesna asserted that serviced plots were a better form of social housing/government assistance, I decided to carryout interviews with people who have benefited with serviced plots through government aid in a neighboring town that many of Tamesna's residents had praised, namely, Ain Aouda. When the R+2 zoning, which has two residential floors and stores on the bottom, was mentioned as a successful housing prototype that

resembles traditional Moroccan housing, I visited a new town in Casablanca that capitalized on this model to further understand the lived experiences of its residents. In inductive qualitative research, this type of theoretical sampling allows specific instances in the data to be used to formulate more general conclusions.

It is important to note that since qualitative methods rely heavily on the researcher, it is crucial to use strategies to enhance the "validity" and "trustworthiness" of the research (Creswell, 2003). The most common strategy to increase the validity of qualitative findings is triangulation. Triangulation has been broadly defined as the "combination and comparison of multiple data sources, data collection and analysis procedures, research methods investigators, and inferences that occur at the end of a study" (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Put simply, triangulation allows social researchers to look at the study's phenomenon from multiple angles in order to improve the accuracy of findings and conclusions (Neuman, 2006). Denzin (1978) and Patton (1999) identify four types of triangulation that allow for the 'verification and validation of qualitative analysis' those are: methodological triangulation, triangulation of data sources, analyst or researcher triangulation, and theory/perspective triangulation. The basic idea is that with the combination of multiple methods, data sources, investigators, and theories, researchers can work towards ensuring validity and reliability (Patton, 1999). Case study research is bounded by time and activity which allows researchers to collect information using a variety of data collection methods (Creswell, 2003). In this research, I use within-method triangulation (i.e., triangulation of a number of qualitative methods) in-order to confirm findings from multiple data sources (Creswell, 2003). It is important to note however, that with triangulation, we do not expect findings from different sources to yield the exact result, rather triangulation is an effort to test for consistency, and if inconsistencies in findings across different data sources arise this can provide enlightening information (Patton, 1999).

<u>Methods of Data Collection</u>

For this research, I used four different methods to gather information about Morocco's New Towns Program. These methods are document analysis, participant observation—both structured and unstructured, audiovisual materials, and interviews. Participant observation and intensive interviewing have been identified as the central techniques of naturalistic investigation and are therefore essential in this type of research (Lofland et al., 2006, p. 18). Document analyses help situate the case study within its broader socio-political context and audiovisual materials help materialize the empirical evidence for the reader.

Document analysis. An analysis of preexisting documents is important because national urban policies (such as Morocco's New Towns Program) initiate within a specific political and social environment. Since Morocco's New Towns Program is primarily an effort to decentralize urban centers by means of providing housing opportunities on the fringes of major cities, a historical account of previous housing and decentralization efforts such as the *Ville Nouvelles* (new towns) of the French colonization period (1912-1956) was important. For my history chapter (Chapter Three), I obtained historical texts on Morocco's urbanization such as Katherine Johnson's 1972 *Urbanization Survey Report* to the Ford Foundation and Janet Abu-Lughod's 1980 book on *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco*. Relative to the case study, an analysis of the new town policy documents, masterplans, zoning and building codes, as well as any existing program evaluation, outcome reports and the newly developed (2013) recovery plans was necessary. For case specific document analysis, I reviewed a series of primary and secondary sources related to the New Towns Program. From official Moroccan Government websites, I obtained administrative documents such as the New Cities-Satellite Cities National Council meeting summary and the official introductory report to the New Towns Program. From the Ministry of Housing, Urbanism and Territorial Management (MHUAE- *Ministère Délégué Chargé de l'Habitat, de l'Urbanisme et de l'Aménagement de l'Espace*) and the Urban Agencies at Skirate-Témara and Marrakech I obtained

planning and visionary documents such as urban development and management plans, Vision 2020, and national land use plans. From Al Omrane Tamesna and Al Omrane Tamansourt, I obtained documents relating to each new town's history and development, current status reports, and official recovery plans (*plan de relaunce*). Al Omrane also provided copies of land acquisition documents and the "Cahier des Charge" regulatory documents which were issued to private developers by Al Omrane on behalf of the Housing Ministry. I also obtained and analyzed evaluation reports and articles on the New Towns Program published in both academic journals and by development organizations such as the World Bank and the Affordable Housing Institute's Center for Affordable Housing Finance in Africa. As part of the iterative process, I continued to gather documents relative to the themes that emerged from the interview data. For example, when the concept of shared property maintenance and the malfunctioning syndicates (homeowner's associations) were brought up, I obtained a copy of the official 2002 law on cooperative housing from the Commune of Harbeel where Tamansourt is located. Before, during, and after my field work data collection phase, I continued to monitor different news outlets in the local and international media for articles about the national New Towns Program. News articles were helpful to understand the progress of the New Towns Program relative to the King's vision and official expectations of the Program.

Participant observation. A key element of this type of qualitative case study research is participant observation—that is to observe and participate with subjects in their setting. I collected data as an observer in two new towns over a total period of six months. I spent approximately three months in Tamesna and the same in Tamansourt accompanied by my family and my research assistants. Participant observation can be structured or unstructured. For the purposes of this study, I define structured observations as planned observations (i.e., attending public meetings, festivals, neighborhood events and observing the use of space in different housing developments) and unstructured observations as those that include everyday life activities at the new town (i.e., going to the mosque for prayer, going to the park

with my children, having tea or lunch at a café with my family or shopping for groceries and household essentials at local markets etc.).

In addition to attending site planning meetings, local marathons, sport events, and festivals, my structured observations involved windshield surveys, site reconnaissance, and cultural mapping. These three types of structured non-participant observations are commonly used in planning research (Gaber & Gaber, 2007). Windshield surveys, the first type of structured observations, involve visually examining a large area from a distance (i.e., in a car or bus etc.). At the beginning of my field work, I used windshield surveys to understand the lay of the land in both new towns by driving around different housing developments identifying which ones were under construction and which ones were occupied. I also did multiple windshield surveys of other new towns under construction to compare the types of housing built. The second method of structured observation was a site reconnaissance investigation which involves the researcher walking in the site and recording firsthand impressions (Gaber & Gaber, 2007). Site reconnaissance allows the investigator to experience the area and discover its most significant features. Before I began conducting interviews in any housing development, I did a walk through, took pictures, and made notes about the situation. Finally, cultural mapping allows local residents to map their intangible cultural assets by narrative and story-telling (Jeannotte, 2016). While conducting interviews with locals, I utilized cultural mapping exercises to look at daily activities, gather local stories, and understand residents' mobility in the new town. I asked residents to take me around their neighborhoods and point out the different features they brought up during the interview. For example, residents took me into their apartments to show how they had altered the space either for living or business purposes. The practical benefit of using cultural mapping as a method is that it can help in identifying a community's strengths and resources, as well as their common aspirations and values to inform planners and policy makers about the community's needs and desires. Site reconnaissance and cultural mapping helped provide written and photographic documentation of local details that give a sense lived reality of the new town (i.e., local signage, flyers, graffiti etc.). Cultural mapping is also helpful for mapping intangible cultural assets such as religious values, social cohesion and identity by walking around with people and

allowing them to tell their "stories of place" (Jeannotte, 2016). For example, stories about where residents were expected to sacrifice their sheep during Eid Al Adha (Muslim holiday) were helpful for understanding how shared space was utilized and helped explain the blood stains and sheep skin found on the rooftop of several apartment buildings. In Tamansourt, it was helpful for understanding the need for informal mosque structures, even when larger neighborhood mosques existed.

Finally, part of becoming a member of a community today involves joining their virtual space on social media. During my time in Tamesna and Tamansourt, I joined local social media groups and news pages which were helpful for identifying upcoming local events such as marathons and sport tournaments. I joined the local women's social media groups in both new towns. These groups were extremely helpful when I was residing there as a participant observer. For example, one time there were gendarmerie officers and EMT services gathered on the street below our apartment. We learned the details of the accident from the local news group-- a child delivering a propane gas cylinder to an apartment was hit by a car and killed while crossing the road. Another time, a long and heavy rain pour in Tamansourt caused flooding on many roads. Locals reported the situation; we were able to reschedule our interview in Marrakech that day.

Audiovisual materials. My overall goal in conducting field research and analyzing a social setting was to collect the "*richest possible data*" (Lofland et al., 2006). Audiovisual materials are helpful in documenting a social situation. In the field, I used two types of audiovisual materials: time-lapse videos and photographic research. Time-lapse videos, as used in the renowned work of William Whyte (1980/2010), are a useful tool in analyzing how public space is used and socially constructed. Photographic research allows the researcher to capture complex situations with a quick click (Gaber & Gaber, 2007). Images taken as part of photographic research can serve two purposes: first as empirical images and part of the research and second as illustrative images to depict a certain condition/place etc. with the intention of communicating ideas and helping others visualize the situation explained by the researcher. Empirical images can be used to geographically map (using GIS software) significant events,

places, or people. (See: Gaber and Gaber 2007, 45–72 for more details on when, why and how planners use photographic research to portray certain social phenomena).

Audiovisual materials collected in the field served two roles: first to document existing situations and second as illustrative of certain theoretically established phenomenon observed by the researcher in the field (Gaber & Gaber, 2007). I took photographs at all interview sites, both before speaking with residents and after. I considered photographs taken before conducting interviews as a form of field notes because they helped me capture different uses and adaptations of space. When taking photographss inside someone's residence, I took verbal (recorded) consent. I did not take any identifiable photographs of residents and respondents' and, therefore, did not utilize the photograph consent form I had prepared as part of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) requirements (See Appendix 4). To categorize my field photographs and make it easy to find different images that illustrate a phenomenon, during my data analysis phase I organized my photographs by adding descriptive "tags" and "key words" to each photograph. Some examples of keywords used are "shared space", "vacant lots", "commercial areas" and "spatial adaptations". In addition to photographs, I took several time-lapse videos of the informal markets in both Tamesna and Tamansourt to capture the richness of their activities and to demonstrate how these spaces have given life to an otherwise ghost town and have created a central hub for locals in the towns that were otherwise described by residents as a "collection of neighborhoods".

In addition to photographs and time-lapse videos, I collected images of billboards advertising housing developments, promotional housing materials such as brochures, pamphlets and booklets and television ads promoting housing developments. These materials were analyzed in Chapter Five to showcase how the new towns were imagined by public officials and promoted to the general public through different audiovisual materials.

Interviews. To answer the empirical questions, set forth by this research I conducted a series of open-ended, semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders and target populations involved in the New Towns Program. Those included: new town residents of different socio-economic statuses, ownership

statuses and length of residency in the new town, as well as the planners and architects involved, government officials, policy makers, community leaders, and private developers. Interviews with elite professionals were done over three sets of field visits. In the summer of 2016, I conducted exploratory fieldwork on the topic of new towns in conjunction with Dr. Ellen Bassett. This preliminary fieldwork included a site visit to Tamesna, both Al Omrane Rabat and Al Omrane Tamesna, and to a sales office selling housing products in Tamesna. During this visit, interviews with six elite professionals involved in the New Towns Program were conducted primarily to understand the distinction between two overlapping national housing programs, namely the 2003 Cities without Slums Program and the 2004 New Towns Program. In the summer of 2017, I received a research grant[25] from the University of Virginia's Center for Undergraduate Excellence that allowed me travel to the field with an undergraduate research assistant. Caroline Alberti, my undergraduate partner, who is fluent in French. Her fluency in French allowed for more flexibility and easier follow-up during interviews with elite professionals, who are predominantly French speaking. We conducted several site visits to Tamesna and attended a site planning meeting for Tamesna's public park at the Urban Agency of Skhirate-Témara. We also attended a construction site visit, a meeting and presentation with local civic leaders in Tamesna in which officials from Al Omrane Tamesna were providing the community with an update on construction progress. We conducted a total of sixteen interviews with professionals involved in the planning and development of Morocco's new towns. The interviewees included five public planning officials and architects, five officials working in the semi-public sector (Al Omrane and *Caisse de D´epôt et de Gestion*-CDG [26]), three private sector officials (two architects and one engineer), and three members of civil societies (two society founders and one lawyer). (See Appendix 5 for the list of persons interviewed in 2016/2017). Utilizing this interview data, we wrote a paper on the public-private partnership model employed by the New Towns Program and the active role

---

[25] The Double Hoos Grant enables an undergraduate and graduate student to pair up and conduct research in a mentorship/mentee arrangement.
[26] CDG, in English the Deposit and Management Fund, is a Moroccan state-owned company responsible for centralizing and managing long-term savings.

of the civic sector in Tamesna. The third set of interviews with elite professionals and civic leaders was

conducted during my longer stay in Morocco. I conducted interviews with twenty-two public, private, and

civic officials. This last set of elite interviews was conducted as a form of data triangulation. For example,

when residents discussed issues of safety and security, I reached out to a local Gendarmerie officer in

Tamesna and interviewed him. After hearing from *douar* residents in Tamansourt, I contacted the vice

president of Harbeel Commune to learn more about their approach towards informal settlement removal

and relocation. I also interviewed leaders of local women's, sports, and youth associations, as well as

syndicate leaders involved in managing shared apartment housing. Additionally, during my time in

Tamesna, I was able to conduct an interview with Jacques Gally, a French specialist and international

consultant on new towns, major projects, urban strategies, and public private negotiations on his

professional opinion on the status of Morocco's New Towns Program.

Interviews with elites were focused on the New Towns Program, the private-public partnership

model employed, and its successes and challenges. From such interviews, the merging of the Cities

without Slums Program and the New Towns Program was identified as a critical turning point that was

detrimental to the progress of the New Towns Program. However, to fully understand the successes and

outcomes of the national urbanization strategy and to provide answers to the question of replicability, in-

depth interviews with residents were needed to understand residents' perceptions of the program and their

lived experiences. Understanding the transferability of social structures from previous communities to

new towns, as well as the fluidity of those transitions was also crucial. These questions were left for the

final, longer set of fieldwork which involved residing in the new towns as a participant observer.

The third and largest set of fieldwork involved conducting semi-structured interviews with

residents of two new towns during the longer period of field data collection when I resided in Morocco in

the Fall 2018 and Spring 2019. As was highlighted above, this fieldwork was highly focused on the lived

experiences of local new town dwellers and everyday users of the newly developed space. Because I am

not very familiar with the Moroccan culture and I was interested in hearing interviewees explain their

experiences and how they have adapted to a newly built environment in their own words, I utilized an

open ended semi-structured interview approach. Qualitative interviewing strategies generally ask open-ended questions to which interviewees have the freedom to respond to in their own words (Patton, 1980/2002). Semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to gather deeper information that may open avenues for further investigation. This characteristic is not available in more structured interviews that rely on survey instruments. In conducting semi-structured interviews, the interviewer prepares topics/themes and questions and carefully designs their sequencing ahead of time. There are several basic information questions that must be addressed in each interview such as demographic information, but the rest of the outlined topics can be used in a way that is tailored to the interviewee responses. The interviewer also prepares a set of probes (detail-oriented and elaboration probes) and follow-up questions in order to go further in-depth into interviewee responses (Patton, 1980/2002). My interview protocols with a complete list of questions and probes are contained in Appendix 4. Since those interviews were to be conducted with locals, I worked with my research assistants on translating the protocols to the local Moroccan dialect, Darija. For each interview, my research assistants followed the interview guideline. Because I was transcribing and translating the interviews from Darija to English throughout my time in the field, I was also conducting preliminary analysis which led to adding some questions (included in Appendix 4) and expanding the sampling neighborhoods. Interviews with elite professionals on the other hand were conducted either in Standard Arabic, English, French or some combination of those three languages depending on their background and preference. These interviews with professionals were helpful for gathering official government policy and legal documents and information on New Towns Program from the different public and private entities involved.

From September 2018 to April 2019, I conducted a total of 285 interviews, 143 interviews in Tamesna and 142 interviews in Tamansourt. About 22 of these interviews were conducted with elite professionals, the rest were voices of residents and everyday users of space in Tamesna and Tamansourt (n~120 in each new town.) (See Appendix 5 for the list of people interviewed). In order to include the voices of residents throughout the new towns, I used stratified random sampling as a method for interviewee recruitment. Stratified random sampling is a sampling method in which the population is

divided into sub-groups called strata. Each stratum resembles a proportion of the population. In my

research, I divided the populations of Tamesna and Tamansourt into sub-groups by housing development.

After conducting windshield surveys, I identified all the housing developments that were occupied and

labeled them on a site plan map. Then I worked my way around each neighborhood (strata) and spent one

to two days conducting interviews in each occupied development. I started by walking to different

developments and spending some time to take field notes and observations before approaching people in

the common public areas for interviews. There was no comprehensive ownership data available for

current residents in each development as a starting point for stratified random sampling. Additionally, I

wanted to include the voices of renters and public housing beneficiaries as well, therefore, I decided

approaching residents randomly was the best option to ensure the population was adequately represented.

I conducted anywhere from four to ten interviews in each housing development. Each interview was an

average of fifteen to twenty minutes. I made sure to reach theoretical saturation in each development.

Theoretical saturation is when no new concepts are emerging from the data (Urquhart, 2013). Once I felt

the concerns of residents within a housing development were covered, I was ready to move on to another

development. (See Appendix 6 for a map of interview locations). Many of the interviews included the

voices of more than one resident because often times residents, who saw my researcher assistants and I

with a handheld voice recorder, thought we were journalists and quickly gathered to voice their concerns.

While their voices were accounted for in the interview transcripts, coding and analysis process, the

number of interviews is based on the number of respondents who answered the basic demographic

questions (for example, housing type, former location, occupation, occupancy status as

buyers/renters/beneficiaries and their length of residency in the new town).

For interviews with elite professionals, I started with purposeful sampling by establishing

connections in Al Omrane Tamesna, Al Omrane Tamansourt, and the Urban Agencies of Skirate-Témara

and Marrakech. My contacts from these institutions then led me to other public officials and private

developers with whom I could speak. For interviews with civic leaders, I contacted local associations to

speak with their administration. Some associations and neighborhood organizations I found while walking

within a development, others I reached out to through their social media accounts.

In addition to stratified random sampling, I also utilized theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling is typically used in the grounded theory methodology when a researcher seeks to find additional data based on concepts found and developed from initial data analysis (See Chapter7 in Corbin & Strauss, 2008). About 17 interviews were conducted with residents of other social housing and government aid housing developments not related to Tamesna and Tamansourt due to theoretical sampling. These were Ain Aouda, Arrahma new town in Casablanca; Douar El Habib El Attar in Harbeel Commune; and Douar Al Hassan in Sidi Yahiya Zaer commune. Theoretical sampling allowed me to "increase the scope" of my analysis by sampling other substantial areas outside of my case study site and units of analysis. For example, when it was clear that many of the vendors at the informal markets were not local residents, but lived in surrounding informal settlements, I wanted to explore the effect (and perception of) of new towns on pre-existing/surrounding communities and informal settlements (*douars*) in the surroundings communes.

During my time in each new town, I had a map of the new town hanging by the dining room table where we transcribed interviews. I used these maps to cross out neighborhoods that we had visited (i.e., sampled from.) (See Figure 4-4). In between visits to other developments, we transcribed for about three to seven days. The translation and transcription process were the first step in analyzing the data. The process involved close observation of the data, listening to recordings repeatedly, comparing field notes and discussing any uses of local sayings and idioms with my Moroccan research assistants. After transcribing each set of interviews, we determined whether we had more questions about a certain neighborhood and if so we revisited the neighborhood to hear from more residents. While I had planned to collect approximately 30-50 interviews with residents in each new town, due to my use of stratified random sampling, theoretical sampling, and the scale of the new town developments, I ended up with much more interview data than expected. While this significantly delayed my data analysis and dissertation write-up plans, I believe it provided for a richer discussion of the New Towns Program from the lived experiences of local new town residents and surrounding neighborhoods.

Figure 4-4. Maps of Tamesna (left) and Tamansourt (right) used in the field to plan which neighborhood to conduct interviews in next based on stratified sampling technique. Photographs by author, 2018 & 2019.
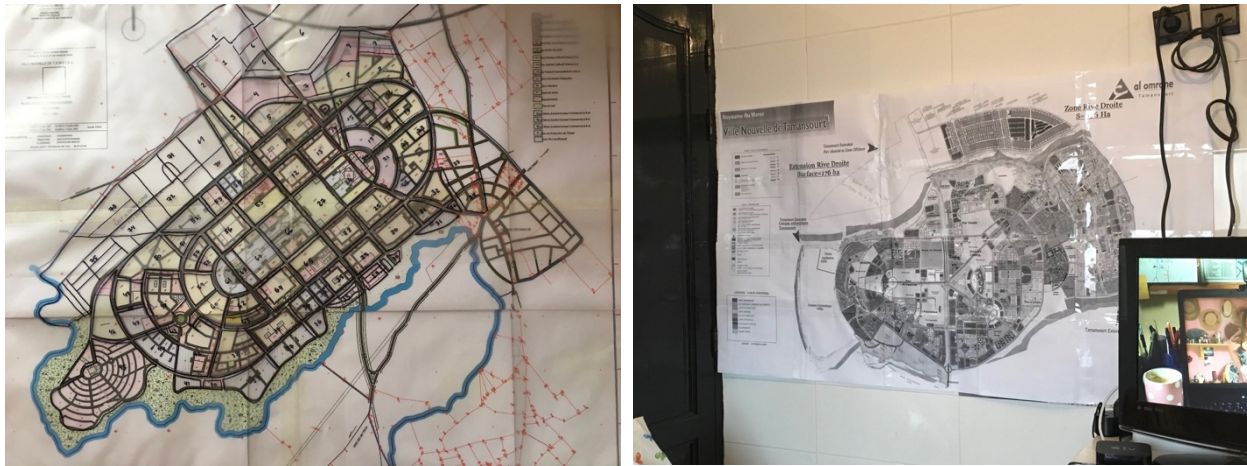
As noted earlier I conducted about 120 resident interviews in each new town. Though Tamansourt is almost twice the geographic size of Tamesna, because it contained large subdivisions for serviced single family plots, the populations residing in each town at the time of this research were similar. Maintaining the same number of interviews ensured both units of analysis were equally represented. While interviewing new town residents about their lived experiences and their move to a state-produced space whether by choice or by not, I quickly felt that I had reached a point of saturation. After speaking with just 16 residents in Tamesna, I had a general sense of what people living in the new town were suffering from and what they need to survive and thrive in an isolated new town. There were no surprises, people needed transportation, jobs, access to schools and health care, youth clubs, sports facilities, women's associations, and places for recreation. In sum, all they were asking for were the basics of urban living. By the 40th interview in Tamesna I had definitely confirmed all the elements that were missing in the new town of Tamesna, and from previous exploratory research visits I had already established a general understanding of all the challenges and obstacles that were faced in the implementation of Morocco's 2004 New Towns Program and in the development of Tamesna and Tamansourt in particular. However, it was only after those initial 40 interviews in Tamesna that I began

building rapport with locals. I was invited into their homes and was able to understand on a deeper level what local customs and socio-cultural practices were affected directly by the implementation of a State housing and development initiative. (See Behbehani et al., 2019 for conference paper findings on cultural sustainability). Since Tamansourt was unique to Tamesna in that it had single family serviced (self-build) plots, I did not feel that I reached a point of saturation as early as was felt in Tamesna. In both new towns however, even when I reached a point of saturation, I continued to conduct interviews until all occupied neighborhoods (strata) were covered.

Resident Interview Procedures

Interviews were audio-recorded in accordance with IRB consent protocols, transcribed and coded. Initially my goal was to personally conduct the interviews in Arabic and have a local research assistant help with translation. Though not a Moroccan, I was too often mistaken as a one, however, when attempting to speak Darija during interviews I found that it distracted interviewees who either suspected I was a "Moroccan living abroad" (typically referring to those living in Europe whose first language is French) or were intrigued by my interest in their situation as an outsider. This significantly derailed interviews, so we decided it was best if I took notes and asked simple probes when needed. I thus allowed my research assistants to take over the interview process following the interview protocol I had designed. This arrangement allowed me to capture expressions and gestures that make for richness in interpreting the interview data. My research assistants spoke Standard Arabic, Moroccan Darija, Berber and French. The three of us wear headscarves and we all wore similar style modern, some would say "Westernized" clothing (i.e., pants and long sleeve tops), and therefore easily blended in as Moroccan college students.

When we approached a resident, we explained briefly that we were conducting research on life in a new town ('*medina jadida*') and were interested in learning about their experiences. We made it clear that none of the questions too personal or involved identifiable information. Interviewees rarely asked to see official business cards or the research permit I had obtained from Mohammed VI Polytechnic

University (UM6P) (See Appendix 7). We asked whether they would allow us to record the conversation solely for transcription purposes because it would be difficult to remember or take note of every detail. All but few (less than 10) interviewees consented to audio recordings. Those who did not consent to audio recordings were comfortable with us taking notes. Many women we approached were hesitant to talk to us at first stating that they were "illiterate" and, therefore, implying they would not be able to answer our questions in a way that was meaningful to our research. We explained that our goal is to speak with a typical resident who experienced living in this new town and that their educational background was irrelevant to our research. After we gained consent, my first research assistant Sara Ait Omar asked the questions in Darija while holding the handheld audio recorder. My second research assistant, Touria Ait Omar, took extensive notes in Darija Arabic which we used when transcribing interviews that did not record clearly or interviews that did not consent to being recorded. I took notes, mostly listened, asked questions, and probed when needed. Some probes added in subsequent interviews were the result of initial analysis. For example, as many residents brought up issues of safety and "*grisage*" (French term for robbery at knife-point), I added probes to ask about the places and spaces people avoid due to concerns of personal safety. When we transcribed and typed-up each interview, we relied on Sara's audio recording, Touria's extensive Darija notes, and my jottings—mostly of the gestures, expressions, and the general atmosphere of the interview. Because many local expressions and phrases were hard to translate directly into English, I included both an English translation and the actual phrase in Darija in parenthesis in the transcription. I also typed my fieldnotes and thoughts so that they were embedded in each interview. When quotations from interviews with residents and elite professionals are inserted in my empirical findings' chapters (Chapters Five-Seven), I cite them by location, date, interview number and year. For example, interview 52 conducted on October 20th, 2018 in Tamesna would be cited as (Tamesna, 10/20-52, 2018).

Analytical Procedures

As I have demonstrated above, my approach to data collection was geared more towards ethnography with the central goal being learning from the cases and units of analysis rather than studying and evaluating them. I also went into the field without any presupposed propositions or hypotheses and instead used Lefebvre's Spatial Triad as a theoretical lens to guide my data collection and analysis. Since I had no single hypothesis to reflect on, I found the analytical procedures of the grounded theory methodology to be extremely valuable as they encourage the researcher to look closely at the data allowing themes to emerge without the influence of preconceived ideas and expectations. In my case the use of grounded theory analysis methods helped make the "lived experience" of new town dwellers the central aspect of knowledge production. It is important to mention that my use of grounded theory is not necessarily as a theory-building tool as its classical intentions are, but rather as an analysis method to reach my research objectives. I wanted to provide new and unguided insights on the situation. The grounded theory approach guides the transformation of descriptive qualitative data into explanatory theoretical frameworks (Glaser & Strauss, 1967/2009; in Charmaz, 2014). In the grounded theory method, data analysis is systemic and begins as soon as data is available (Urquhart, 2013). As highlighted above, both my data collection and analytical procedures were iterative.

Glaser (1978) recommends three stages of coding. These are open coding, selective coding and theoretical coding. Open coding is the technique I used while transcribing and typing my field notes and observations in the field. Emerging concepts from this first step of open coding led to further data collection. For example, when residents in Tamansourt complained about neighborhood mosques being too far and the need for smaller informal mosques to fill in this gap, I reached out to a local Imam (Muslim leader) at one of the informal mosques to ask about the process of building and operating an informal mosque. My typed interviews and field notes were all imported into Atlas.ti, a qualitative data analysis tool that helps with systematic analysis of large bodies of textual and other forms of data. The second coding step, selective coding was done after I returned from the field. In this step, the data are

analyzed further at the line and paragraph level and open codes are grouped together into larger categories. Though time consuming, I believe this step enabled adequate consideration of residents' voices. This step also helped me integrate my interview data into the three empirical chapters and reflect on the new towns from the perspective of elite professionals, residents, and the participant observer (my sub-units of analysis). Coding allows for a "chain of evidence" and so I can point to the number of instances a concept came up in interviews. A "chain of evidence" allows external observers to trace the evidence of specific findings and verify the conclusions (Yin, 1984/2014). This increases the reliability and overall quality of the case study (Yin, 1984/2014).

Since I used a stratified sampling technique, I was also able to connect codes to different types of housing developments—for example, beneficiary housing, economic housing, semi-finished villas or serviced plots. This helped when making inferences about themes that were specific to market-rate buyers versus concerns that mattered to public housing residents. The third and final step of grounded theory coding is theoretical coding. In this step, the researcher relates the themes, concepts and different categories that emerge from the first two coding sessions and considers the relationships between them. This final step generated the discussions found in my final two chapters, which engage and situate my findings within existing literature and conversations on new town planning in theory and practice. The systemic coding process associated with the grounded theory method results in propositions that are grounded in the observations, interviews, and data. The three steps for coding as recommended by grounded theory methodologists were extremely helpful in guiding my data analysis and ensuring I captured and presented the most important themes that came up frequently in the data. Using the analytical procedures associated with grounded theory outlined above is also in line with typical thematic analysis techniques utilized in case study research. As Creswell (2003, p. 191) notes, the data analysis and interpretations of both case study and ethnographic research "involve a detailed description of the setting or individuals, followed by analysis of the data for themes or issues".

III. Addressing Limitations of Research Design and Methodology

No research design is free from limitations. The limitations associated with this research are acknowledged and addressed in what follows. Case study research is often accused for its 'lack of rigor'. However, Yin (1984/2014) suggests a combination of multiple cases and multiple methods will allow for greater reliability of empirical findings. I used triangulation of various data collection methods to increase the reliability of my empirical data. While I interviewed elite professionals about their experienced with the New Towns Program and people living in the new town about their life, I also observed the everyday use of space, documented using photography and time-lapse videography, and returned to ask about elements I read in official documents or observed and experienced as a participant observer. The different data collection methods helped me understand existing meaning systems shared by different actors.

It is important to note that this research was time-bound. By the time I was interviewing residents in Tamesna about their experiences the new town was only 11 years old, whereas Tamansourt was 15 years old. Had this research been conducted earlier or later, the concerns of residents would likely have been different. However, I believe the insights from the first decade of implementing a new town have important lessons for implementing the rest of Morocco's proposed new towns.

Case study research is also accused of leading to researcher biased interpretation of collected data (Yin, 1984/2014). When gathering data, I followed strict interview protocols which included open-ended questions so that the resident would not be led by the interviewer or researcher. To limit bias, I also followed similar sampling, data collection, and analysis procedures in each of the studied new towns. For data analysis, the systematic line by line and paragraph level coding were used to limit biased interpretation of data. When conducting windshield surveys, I also used guidelines of what to look for. Some of these guidelines were generic guides obtained from community assessment resources (included in Appendix 4), others were derived from the themes brought up in interviews. I also used a template for recording field notes and observations such that the overall environment, people present, and activities observed were recorded in a systematic way.

Another issue of concern was gender representation. While in the field I noticed that as a group of female researchers it was easier to approach and interview female residents. Even though I made an active attempt to speak to an equal number of male and female residents in each housing development sampled, I still ended up with a majority of female voices (about 70% of resident interviewees were female). One reason was that I interviewed people in the common areas of shared housing. In general, these were women watching their children play, hanging laundry, or walking back from a trip to a convenience store or from picking up a child from school. I also conducted most interviews during the day and many respondents reported their husbands were the primary breadwinners and therefore were at work during those times. Many of the men interviewed were interviewed at their workplaces within a housing development, for example a security guard, gardener, or convenience store owner or in commercial areas of the new town working in cafes or retail stores. Still while doing my first round of data analysis in the field, I noticed that interviews with female residents had richer data than those with male respondents. Much more probing was necessary during male resident interviews, while female residents tended to take off on their own bringing up many social and cultural aspects and adaptations they have had to make as a result of moving to a newly developed town. This could be because females were more comfortable sharing their everyday life with a fellow female. Women also tend to spend more of their time in the new town and in the built housing developments while their husbands work elsewhere. As such, I do not consider the higher representation of female residents in my respondent pool to be a major limitation to this research.

In terms of interviews with elite professionals, the major limitation I faced was access to institutional memory. Several elites interviewed disclosed that they did not hold their current positions during the time in which the New Town policy was discussed by the government and adopted as an official program. Several higher-level officials had also retired. As such it was difficult to get access to elites involved in the very beginning of the planning process. When asking for documents on Tamansourt's development at Al Omrane Marrakech, one official had to search in the archives. Since Tamansourt's management had been passed along to the Al Omrane subsidiary in Tamansourt, the files in

the Marrakech office were archived. In Al Omrane Tamansourt, officials did not have access to earlier developmental stages as their work was dealing with the current development and management only. That is to say, there was a clear gap in institutional memory.

Finally, relative to the outcomes of this research, it is important to note that case study research designs are context-bound and, therefore, should not be used to generalize to larger populations. Indeed, the data collected focused on one single event or phenomenon, which makes it difficult to use the data to form a generalization. To address this limitation, I made sure to study the situation in more than one new town. Findings from one new town will enhance and support the results from the other. Because Morocco has implemented seven of their fifteen suggested new towns, having more than one unit of analysis will allow me to explore and compare different sources of evidence in their "real-life context" (Yin, 1984/2014). Another issue is that of external validity. In general, Yin (1984/2014) notes, in qualitative studies we generalize to theory not to population as in quantitative studies. The goal of this qualitative case study research is to be able to make what Yin (1984/2014) calls "analytical generalizations" and to shed "empirical light" on theoretical concepts in order to go beyond the specific the selected cases and be able to generalize a particular set of results to some broader audiences (Yin, 1984/2014, p. 40). Any theory or ideas that emerge from the data are discussed by engaging existing theory (Strauss, 1987). The use of existing theoretical conversations then allows for external validity (Yin, 1984/2014). The ultimate goal is to be able to make analytical generalization such that findings from the New Towns Program in Morocco can extend to other situations outside of the original case study. The two theoretical concepts to which my case study research provides empirical evidence are Watson's (2003) theory of "conflicting rationalities" and Bayat's (2004) theory of "quiet encroachments". These contributions can be found in Chapter Eight.

Conclusion

To conclude, I employed an embedded single-case study research design and utilized qualitative and ethnographic methods of data collection. The four methods used to collect data were: document

analysis, audiovisual materials, participant observations and interviews. Together these methods help make analytical generalizations that shed light to two theoretical concepts: Watson's (2003) theory relative to "conflicting rationalities" and Bayat's (2004) theory of "quiet encroachments". The central questions to be answered can be summarized as such: Theoretically, *what does Morocco's 2004 New Towns Program tell us about urbanization and processes of planning in the Global South?* Empirically, *how has Morocco's 21st century new town experiment played out both for the planners involved and for the residents? How do interactions between people and place and planners and space influence the built environment?* That is, *do new town dwellers have the ability to contribute to, alter or redefine the space that has been imposed upon them by state governments and planners? If so, how?* Finally, relative to the question of replicability: *What can we learn from the current situation of the Tamesna and Tamansourt that can help inform future new towns in Morocco and the Global South?*

Chapter Five: Official Representations of Morocco's Contemporary New Towns—A View from Above

Introduction

Contemporary scholars studying urban development in Morocco have pointed out that Morocco's "urban revolution" began at the turn of the 21st century when a new culture of neoliberal urban development was adopted (Cattedra, 2010; in Bogaert, 2018; Barthel & Zaki, 2011). Political scientist Koenraad Bogaert (2018) explains that this new culture of massive urban projects launched by King Mohammed VI and opened to international investors:

> …marks the end of traditional urban planning executed by a centralized state administration and the transition toward a more diversified and ad hoc planning of the city characterized by the exploitation of strategic locations, the creation of landmarks, and the incorporation of new actors with particular resources (e.g., capital and know-how) into the realm of decision-making.
>
> (Bogaert, 2018, p. Chapter 2, Section 3: Morocco's Urbanism of Projects)

The 2004 New Towns Program (*Villes Nouvelles Programme*, French acronym - VNP) is one of the major projects that was born out of this declared "urban revolution". This chapter provides a comprehensive introduction to the VNP from the point of view of elite professionals, using both primary and secondary data sources. In the first section drawing from secondary data from planning and policy documents, I describe the genesis of the VNP. The second section follows with a detailed presentation of the "New Towns, Satellite Cities" policy proposal that outlined the VNP's goals and implementation strategies. In the third section, using primary interview data, I present the VNP from the point of view of professionals actively involved in realizing the national vision. In the fourth section, I present the two new towns studied, Tamesna and Tamansourt, and highlight their physical characteristics as conceptualized and promoted by technical professionals (i.e., architects, planners, and engineers). In the final section, I

focus on how the new towns as conceived by elite professionals are depicted, advertised, and promoted to the public through billboards, brochures, promotional materials, and media advertisements.

I.   Towards a 21st Century National Housing Policy

Morocco's 21st century "urban revolution" can be traced to the early 2000s when responsibilities of city planning were distributed more widely across different development actors. In 2000, a national debate was launched over territorial/regional development. The debate featured participants from different ministerial sectors, public institutions, local authorities, and economic and social actors within affected sectors and ended with the adoption of a land use bill, namely, the National Scheme of Regional Planning (French acronym - SNAT)[27.] The statute is intended to guide national land use for the next 25 years. This document established an avenue for more proactive planning. One of the SNAT's main objectives is to "consolidate the competitiveness of the national territory in its different fields and components" (Article 2, SNAT, 2002). The document should act as a frame of reference for other public policies from different sectors to follow the perspectives of the State relative to economic, social, and environmental development strategies. One of the aims of the document is to propose "development capable of guaranteeing the conditions of sustainable development" (Article 2, SNAT, 2002). Articles 20 and 21 of the SNAT both suggest a new towns policy, "*la politique des villes nouvelles*".

In 2002, the National Council for Housing and Town Planning was established by royal decree to allow different actors to align their work within the overall State's vision as outlined in the SNAT (established in 2002 by decree no. 2-01-1011). The Council's task was to consolidate governmental development policies and bring together actors and operators of public, private, financial, professional and construction institutions for decision-making relative to housing and urban planning strategies. The

---

[27] More about SNAT (*Schéma National d'Aménagement du Territoire*): It consists of two documents: a Regional Spatial Planning Scheme (SRAT) and a Functional Organization and Planning Scheme (SOFA). It is to be reviewed by a permanent inter-ministerial committee of regional planning (CIPAT- regulatory selected council under the National Land Use Planning Committee). The SNAT plan is to be totally or partially revised every five years. The SRAT (Regional Strategic Plan) is to be revised every ten years allowing local actors (Walis/Governors, rural communities, regional public offices, regional professional associations) to be involved in designing their vision for the development of their province.

National Council is made up of 45 permanent members, who represent public and semi-public organizations, financial institutions, professional organizations, real estate, construction professionals, public works operators, and other professionals. More members may be enlisted whenever their skills or expertise are needed. The Council became the main entity responsible for social housing and planning strategies in both urban and rural areas. Although the Council is made up mostly of professional elites, its link to the people is through NGOs, professional development societies (society of architects/engineers), civic leaders, and elected public officials. The Council can initiate its own proposals for urban development and planning and also study issues brought up by the government.

The speech of King Mohammed VI at the opening of the 7th legislature (Rabat, October 11, 2002) highlighted the need to address several issues to guarantee future sustainable development. In particular, the King identified housing as one of the top four national priorities, along with employment, economic development, and education.

"…Likewise, we can only preserve citizens' dignity by ensuring decent housing and accelerating implementation of the national program for slum eradication and combating unsanitary housing"

> Extract from H.M. King Mohammed VI's speech at the opening of the first year of the 7th legislature (Rabat, October 11, 2002) - quoted in *Villes Nouvelles, Dossier Thématique* – New Towns, Thematic Documents Collection (VNDT, 2007, p. 3).

Although this excerpt from the King's 2002 speech specifically refers to the need to quickly activate the Cities without Slums Program (*Villes Sans Bidonvilles Programme*, French acronym – VSBP), it also highlighted "decent housing" as an important aspect to "preserve citizens' dignity" and therefore acted as the catalyst for the national team of experts to begin addressing the ever-growing housing gap.

Considering the directive of the Government to promote integrated urban poles within the framework of a national, inclusive, productive, and sustainable city policy, the National Council for Housing and Town Planning organized a two-day meeting/convention on December 14 and 15, 2004 that

brought together representatives, decision makers, and directors of all government authorities responsible for urban planning and management. Proceedings from the 2004 meeting are presented at the beginning of "*Villes Nouvelles, Dossier Thématique*" (French acronym – VNDT), a collection of documents, including speech extracts, and news articles, relating to the proposed New Towns Program. The overarching goals were to alleviate demographic pressure on the country's main urban areas, distribute people more rationally throughout the national territory, and enable regional economic and industrial development. These were discussed under the framework of "New Cities – Satellite Cities". The theme was discussed by a wide range of actors from politicians, research professors (from the INAU[28]), international experts (from France), practitioners (Urban Agency), and urban thinkers (like Archimedia Group). The goal of the convention was to study the concept of new towns and satellite cities more deeply, to study best approaches, and lay the foundations for a national program for new towns-satellite towns (VNDT, 2007).

The group of elites discussed the theme using both scientific and theoretical approaches. Case study experiences, visions, perspectives, implementation approaches, and proposed interventions drawing from international experiences were presented (VNVS, 2004; VNDT, 2007). The French new town, Isles d'Abeau, built in the 1970s in the outskirts of Lyon was presented as a case study, along with the challenges faced in its planning and implementation. The meeting ended with all involved parties agreeing that significant planning and preparation is needed for satellite cities to be successfully implemented. Officials expressed the importance of not only meeting the needs of populations, but also anticipating them.

---

[28] Research professors from the National Institute of Planning and Urbanism (*Institut National d'Aménagement et d'Urbanisme*) which was established in 1981 to train planners and development professionals and carry out research on behalf of the Ministry of Housing and Urbanization.

II. "New Towns, Satellite Cities": Envisioning a New Town Strategy

As covered in Chapter Three, with steady urban growth the biggest concern for the Moroccan government in the early 2000s was the expansion of unregulated forms of housing in rural areas and along highways leading to major cities. The two-day convention in December 2004 highlighted an existing deficit in both housing and services as an active driver of this phenomenon. Therefore a "strategy for the development, strengthening and restructuring of existing nuclei located around large urban agglomerations" was considered an urgent priority (VNDT, 2007). Setting up areas for future urban expansion that "supplement" activities in the neighboring center was also seen as advantageous as it would build on and maintain already existing populations. Relieving the pressure from historic medinas was also thought to be a method for preserving the country's heritage (forest, historical, and cultural).

As stated in the VNDT (2007) document, former state-supported sites-and-services/self-construction projects had led to substandard design and management. Earlier approaches to the housing problem were planned horizontally and resulted in wasteful land consumption and "ugliness of the urban landscape [*la laideur du paysage urbain*]" (VNVS, 2004, p. 6). The "New Towns – Satellite Cities" discussion underlined the importance of proactive planning in order to "guarantee rational management and control of the land" (VNVS, 2004, p. 8). Officials realized the need for diverse housing forms (luxury, economic, and social housing). The first objective stated in the "New Cities, Satellite Cities" document is "to establish the concept of new cities - satellite cities in its spatial dimension. The new city - satellite city must constitute an element of restructuring of space by breaking with the old negative practice of 'dormitory city'" (VNDT, 2007, p. 8). This meant "They [New Towns, Satellite Towns] must ensure all urban functions, have a wide range of activities, a diversity of housing types allowing for and promoting social mixing and integration into the surrounding region" (VNVS, 2004, p. 9; VNDT, 2007).

The "New Towns, Satellite Cities" policy proposal was seen as a "tool" to achieve a series of sectoral objectives (i.e., housing production, real estate crisis, unemployment, service shortage) and to better distribute people and services throughout national territory. In the formal policy documents, the idea was portrayed as an all-encompassing program that will not only solve many sectoral issues, but also

restructure and strengthen the national rural and urban framework. This meant there needed to be an entity to impose control over the development of cities (VNVS, 2004, p. 10). Management and implementation of earlier housing policies was challenging on the local level leading to a lack of infrastructure and building maintenance. To achieve this vision, the first step was to establish partnerships with different stakeholders (such as local authorities, public institutions, private operators, civic leaders etc.), but also to develop mutual understandings with other sectors (tourism, agriculture, industry etc.). The Council also highlighted the need for a "specialized inter-ministerial body for off-site construction of collective infrastructure and equipment" (VNVS, 2004, p. 6). Creation of an ad-hoc body with members representing all ministerial bodies involved who would then delegate the construction was necessary. As will be discussed below, this was accomplished by the creation of the Al Omrane Holding Company, a semi-public entity created as a merger between the National Shelter Upgrading Agency and a public construction company.

<u>New Town Policy Implementation and Action</u>

The proposed new towns and satellite cities were envisioned as more than merely large subdivisions or new urban centers. The National Council for Housing and Town Planning's Secretary-General report on the 2004 "New Cities, Satellite Cities" discussion listed the general principles and tools needed for the creation and implementation of a new cities policy (VNVS, 2004, pp. 10–11). Three general principles for a New Cities Policy were outlined in the summary report. The first principle, relative to the overall new town concept, is: a new town should represent sustainable urban development by creating a self-sufficient and livable urban community for all. The second principle involves developing a planning framework to assist with identifying the possible location of a new town based on access to easily mobilizable land. The proposed location for a new town then determines its overall vision and vocation, physical planning, and urban design. For example, the location (e.g., seaside, suburban or near tourist attractions) determines whether a proposed new town would function as an industrial, commercial, residential, or university town. The function of the new town becomes the basis on which the

spatial development plan is created. Furthermore, the new town's size is determined based on minimum needs. The third principle asserts that in order to guarantee implementation of new towns and satellite cities, it its necessary to create an entity that operates as the "developer-town planner" responsible for project management, promotion, fundraising and management (VNVS, 2004, p. 10). In keeping with this last principle, Al Omrane Holding Company, a national level operator-developer of the State's housing and urban development policies, was created.

The "New Cities, Satellite Cities" discussion also outlined four tools needed for the creation of new towns under a New Town Policy framework (VNVS, 2004, p. 11). These tools were: an organizational plan, a legal and institutional plan, a financial plan, and a technical plan. An organizational plan identifies the responsibilities of different actors and partners and distributes operational tasks among them. The legal and institutional plan proposes a legal framework for the design and implementation of the policy. The financial plan studies the potential financial resources available both nationally (public/private) and through international organizations. The goal of the financial plan is to guarantee the implementability of the project through a balanced budget that covers the different components of the program. For example, loan and credit resources, the contributions of public housing beneficiaries and the funds needed to cover basic infrastructure and services are identified. Finally, the technical plan is what ensures the program is developed in accordance with the central vision of the Government. The technical plan breaks down the project into manageable components and distributes jobs to their appropriate actors. The implementation of basic infrastructure and services by both the private and public sectors is scheduled.

As was discussed in Chapter Three, two national housing and resettlement programs were established at the turn of the 21st century, namely the VSBP (Cities without Slums) and the VNP (New Towns Program). Both national programs required an inter-ministerial body responsible for project management, promotion, fundraising and management. In 2004, the National Shelter Upgrading Agency (French acronym - ANHI, *Agence Nationale de lutte contre l'Habitat Insalubre),* the National Equipment and Construction Company (SNEC) and a Casablanca regional development, construction and promotion

company (ATTACHAROUK) were merged to form Al Omrane Holding Company, a national level operator-developer of the State's housing and urban development policies (Marrakech, 03/25-272, 2019) (Bogaert, 2011). On the regional level, Regional Agencies of Planning and Construction (French acronym - ERAC[29]) that had been created in the 1970s were charged with implementing the VSBP and VNP in collaboration with local structures (communes, prefectures, Governors known locally as Walis). Al Omrane Holding Co. (French acronym HAO - *Holding Al Omrane*) and the various ERACs were charged with implementing both the VSBP and VNP.

Still, urban growth continued to increase rapidly. The population urban increased from 55.17% in 2005 to 60.8% in 2015 (World Bank, 2018). More had to be done to keep up with continuous urban growth. Therefore, in 2007, then Prime Minister M. Abbas El Fassi adopted a new approach towards spatial policy, one that would move beyond the government's early 2000's redefining national spatial planning towards its rapid implementation. Doing this required creation of an organization that brings together professionals in the fields of national spatial planning, urban and rural development, and housing and town planning together to work cooperatively on the institutional level and ensure policies are implemented on the spatial level (El Fassi October 24th, 2007 in VNDT, 2007, p. 5). As a result, the 7 regional ERACs were integrated with Al Omrane Holding forming several regional subsidiaries (Al Omrane Marrakech, Al Omrane Casablanca, Fes, Rabat, Oujda, Agadir, Meknes, Layonne[30]), along with subsidiaries in charge of coordinating the implementation and management of new towns according to the VNP (Société Al Omrane Tamesna, Tamansourt, Lkhyayta and Chrafate) (Marrakech, 03/25-272, 2019). Thus, the beginning of the Moroccan urban revolution, as Bogaert (2018) termed it, can be essentially traced back to the early 2000 when a series of limited companies under state control were created (cf. Bouregreg Agency, TangierMedPort, and the Moroccan Fund for Tourism Development FMDT). However, the values of the newly adopted urbanization strategies can arguably be directly linked to

---

[29] *Etablissements Régionaux d'Aménagement et de Construction*, French acronym - ERAC
[30] Note: two more regional subsidiaries were created in addition to the 7 ERAC existing regions in order to ensure a balanced coverage of the Moroccan regions (World Bank, 2011).

2007[31] when the Kingdom's regional development, housing, planning, and construction establishments were all combined and transformed into limited, financially autonomous public companies (regional Al Omrane offices). The World Bank's Housing Sector Development Policy Loan (Housing DPL) supported the consolidation of the management of social housing operators (World Bank, 2011). Today Al Omrane is the primary implementor of public policies relating to social housing. Al Omrane also facilitates the investment of private companies into the housing sector by providing on-site infrastructure for the construction of housing and then assigning the prepared land to private contractors using the PPP framework (World Bank, 2011).

III. How the VNP is presented by professionals actively involved

Not surprisingly, when asked about the New Towns Program's goals and intentions, the responses of planners, architects, public officials and elite professionals actively involved in the implementation of the VNP echoed those presented in the official policy documents. Discussing the VNP, the director of urban development at the Prefecture of Marrakech explained: "creation of a new town is a royal decree (in Darija: *qarar dawla*) for decongesting cities and creating dynamism between medinas" (Marrakech, 03/25-273, 2019). In describing why the VNP was established, Khaddouj Guenou, the managing director of Rabat-Sale's Urban Agency explained:

Urbanization rates were going up, so we needed a futuristic vision to cope with the growth… they [the new towns] are responding to an important growth because 70% of people moving from the rural were going to end up in slums by 2030. Imagine if there were no new towns – there would be slums. (Rabat, 07/12-1, 2017)

Guenou also pointed to the fact that the idea of creating new urban centers was not entirely new in that it recreates the colonial planning experience: "under colonialism the traditional medina and the ville

---

[31] Also, in 2007, under Prime Minister Driss Jettou the Ministry of Housing published an Atlas of Zones Open for Urbanization (*Atlas – Zones Ouvertes a L'Urbanisation*) that highlights different areas open for urbanization.

nouvelle were separated by Hassan II road in Rabat… we took the concept and expanded it more and more" (Rabat, 07/12-1, 2017). Abdulrahman Chorfi, a retired senior official at the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism and adjunct lecturer at the International University of Rabat's Architecture Department, noted

> By the 2000s state owned lands around the major cities were almost all gone, there was no control over the urban limit". He explained that "to live in Rabat there is an [monthly] income threshold of about 30,000MAD (around $3000/month), but almost half of the families living there have an income of less than 5,000MAD (less than $500/month) and therefore cannot live in Rabat. Every year about 130,000 families come to the City [Rabat] but they do not have the ability to live there. 700,000 families have unsuitable housing conditions, and this is still increasing, so where should they go? The *Villes Nouvelles* Program is a way to create new urban centers with schools, health facilities etc. that radiate out. (Rabat, 06/02-1, 2016)

The idea of creating new "urban poles" was also stressed as an important method to guide Morocco's urbanization by Engineer Nadia Sbai the director of private partnerships and economic development at Al Omrane's Casablanca new town, Lkhayta (Casablanca, 07/19-1, 2017).

Describing the VNP's intentions, Hicham Lahlou, former financial manager in Al Omrane Rabat, and the current director of management control and Tamesna's recovery plan at Al Omrane Tamesna stated: "it was launched to solve the problems of informal settlements and the informal growth of cities in Morocco. So Medinat Tamesna is put to control the growth of those like *Medinat Al Rabat* or Témara… and to take and manage the bidonvilles." Like Guenou, he also claimed that the new town concept was not entirely new to Morocco:

> The concept of ville nouvelle is not new. It is not from 2003 it was from before that, there were trials like *Sale El Jadeeda* [near Rabat] … it was before… then after the earthquake of Agadir[32]

---

[32] See Bruce H. Falconer's article "Agadir, Morocco, Reconstruction Work Six Years After the Earthquake of February 1960" on the rebuilding of Agadir based on a new city development plan to accommodate 55,000 persons over a 20-year period following the 1960's earthquake (Falconer, 1968).

[1960] … it was not a *politique* [policy] (in Darija: "*makantsh syasa*") but there were trials…

Even *Hay Al Riad* was a new town in Rabat. (Tamesna, 11/28-126, 2018)

New towns are also presented by officials as suburban housing developments aimed at diverting growth away from major cities, while working towards closing the housing gap through providing affordable housing. Professionals often referenced international new towns and suburban developments as the exemplars of what Tamesna and Tamansourt represent. The marketing director at Al Omrane Tamesna, Tariq El Aidi, compares the case of Tamesna to other overly dense cities that turned to their surrounding areas to release the pressure:

> There is a need for housing here in Rabat … you know housing is not available in Rabat and its surrounding regions because it is full. That is why people choose to come here [to Tamesna]. This phenomenon is not just in Rabat, it is also in other cities like Casablanca and Marrakesh… When there is this demographic problem, you are forced to find new territory. For example, if you see in the cities abroad like Paris, New Jersey you have a lot of opportunity to buy outside the city at low prices. Tamesna is exactly the same thing. People who can't find housing in Rabat prefer to buy in Tamesna. For example, instead of buying an apartment in Rabat for 200000 or 320000MAD ($20-32k) he can buy a villa here in Tamesna. It's a choice. (Tamesna, 10/01-22, 2018)

Additionally, elite professionals presented the VNP as an alternative solution to previous public housing efforts. Architect Ibtisame Jibrane at Al Omrane Tamesna explained:

> If given land, people prefer to sell their land and stay in the slums so this was not working anymore. The government began experimenting a new solution: that is to give families keys to dwelling units instead. The architecture includes social and general housing based on decisions made strategically. Here the government is not interested in profit, just in housing people. The plan is to have 15 New Towns, we have started with two: Tamesna and Tamensourt. (Tamesna, 06/07-1, 2016)

The new solution also implemented new forms of urban governance by enlisting the private sector to help achieve government efforts. Engineer Abellatif Berrahma Tlemcani, the former director in charge of the VNP, explained: "the goal of the VNP is to activate the private sector and involve them in initiating economic centers/hubs" (Rabat, 06/07-4, 2016). In discussing the importance of the private-public partnership programming created under the VNP, Jibrane, Tamesna's project manager (*chef de project Tamesna*) mentioned: "the public sector is a vital organ in fulfilling the mission of realizing the King's vision – but they [the public sector] don't have the means to do so without the private partner" (Tamesna, 06/07-1, 2016). Similarly, Architect Hassan Maknoun at Al Omrane Rabat and former technical director at Al Omrane Tamesna pointed to the importance of the private sector in realizing the new towns:

> The government relied on PPPs which is very important. It is the essential part to realizing the new towns, 60-70% of the new towns are realized by PPPs" (Rabat, 07/17-1, 2017). Through the PPP program, private developers provide "20% of their housing for those without financial capacity, and 80% unfinished villas. (Tamesna, 06/07-1, 2016)

The diversity of housing options that the new towns provide was also mentioned by Mostapha Palambo, who oversaw cooperation, coordination, specific dossiers and territorial strategy at the Urban Agency of Skhirate-Témara as "providing a solution for the housing deficit". In describing Tamesna's significance to its surrounding urban areas Palambo explained:

> Tamesna was prepared/developed as a prefecture but as part of the Rabat region to decentralize and move people… because it [Rabat] got too populated and the real estate became too expensive… people began to go to neighboring cities… like Sale, Témara… but the available offers [housing options offered] are not enough… it is the government's role to provide housing for this population increase. (Témara, 11/27-124, 2018)

What Tamesna and other new towns offer with regards to solving the housing deficit, he added are three factors: "first, providing housing for all socio-economic groups, second providing a solution and a place

to take in the slums from Sidi Yahia and Témara [neighboring communes] and third economic housing" (Témara, 11/27-124, 2018). What is successful about the VNP, Maknoun notes is that it is:

> A managed and developed zone that complies to norms, there are parks and different amenities, otherwise this area [Tamesna] would have developed into slums, so we kind of intervened and saved it from doing that especially those near Sidi Yahya [neighboring commune] that could have expanded overtime as an informal area. It is not just a mosaic of developments like Témara [neighnoring urban area], Tamensa provides a vision with mosques and schools etc. It just takes time. (Rabat, 07/17-1, 2017)

Creating planned urban developments also means the new town "provides services for its surrounding areas like schools". Finally, Maknoun added, the program "regulated the housing market by lowering the prices of housing. More production at lower cost provided an affordable housing option" (ibid).

Architect Rachid Essadani, who is working on another of Al Omrane's new towns, namely Chrafate in Tangier, explains that there are "two important factors that draw people to the new towns, first the economic factor, it is cheaper to live there than in Rabat (for example) and second, the clean air factor" (Rabat, 07/18-1, 2017). In sum, elite professionals believed the VNP to be solving several important urban challenges facing Morocco in the 21st century, while also providing attractive places for people to live. In particular, officials mentioned the VNP as a growth management solution to rapid urbanization, a solution to housing problems including affordability, a place to encourage social mixing through different housing types offered through the PPP model, and a decentralization strategy to provide rural and suburban residents with access to services. The program goals and intentions presented by elite professionals throughout field interviews clearly matched those of the official program. In the following section, I will turn to the two new towns central to this dissertation to showcase how the goals of the VNP as described by elite professionals were materialized into site plans.

IV. Tamesna and Tamansourt: Towards a "new image" for Morocco by 2015

The goal to produce "100,000 new units per year, towards a better quality of life", as stated in the VNDT (2007, p. 53) document, translated into four new town developments planned, implemented, and managed by Al Omrane (Tamansourt, Tamesna, Lakhyayta, Chrafate). (See Figure 5-1). Tamesna and Tamansourt were the first two new towns to be implemented providing a solution to an outstanding housing deficit and actively fighting informality by absorbing former slum communities. Both new towns sought to close the housing gap by providing affordable housing for lower- and middle-income families in the areas surrounding Rabat and Marrakech. In what follows, I present each case study new town as it is planned on paper in detail. I highlight their physical characteristics as imagined and promoted by technical professionals (i.e., architects, planners, and engineers), as well as the land acquisition processes that allowed for their realization.

Figure 5-1. Maps showing locations of Al Omrane's four new towns. Source: Ballout, Jean-Marie. 2015. "'New Towns' and Emerging Urbanities in the Outskirts of Constantine and Marrakech." *L'Année Du Maghreb*, no. 12 (June): 55–74. https://doi.org/10.4000/anneemaghreb.2381.

Case Study 1: New Town Tamansourt (Established 2004)

Tamansourt's Vision. Charged with the goal to transform villages and rural centers into major urban

centers[33], the VNP was first materialized in December of 2004[34] when Tamansourt, the first new town to

be launched under the national New Towns Program, was officially inaugurated by His Majesty the King.

At the time, ERAC Tensift, a public society which later became Al Omrane Marrakech in 2007, was

responsible for its management and construction. Tamansourt was one of five initial new towns proposed

under the VNP, along with Lakhiaita/Had Soualem, Casablanca; Melloussa (now Chrafate), Tanger;

Tagadirt, Agadir; and Tamesna, Rabat; with the goal of creating 15 new towns by 2015. Tamansourt was

inaugurated only 10 days after the "New Cities – Satellite Cities" convention took place in Rabat. Clearly,

the urban development and its site plans had been in the works much earlier. However, as the director of

research at Marrakech Urban Agency, Farhi, explained "the main vision for Tamansourt in the beginning

was industrial, not to promote state social housing" (Marrakech, 03/22-271, 2019). The early 1990s plan

for Tamansourt proposed an industrial zone in the outskirts of Marrakech and along the route to Safi, a

city known for its diversified industries (e.g., pottery, phosphates, sardines, and textiles). (See Figure

5-2).

Principle two under the general principles for a new cities policy stated that the availability of

easily mobilizable land helps identify a new town's vision, function, and spatial design. Noticeably, this

was not the case in Tamansourt. Under the VNP, Tamansourt's main goal was to ease demographic

pressure on the city of Marrakech and decentralize its urban growth (VNVS, 2004, p. 86). By producing

over 50,000 housing units, Tamansourt would also contribute to reducing the national housing deficit and

help meet future housing demands. Additionally, the 160 hectares allocated for public facilities would fill

the gap in public facilities felt in peri-urban areas surrounding Marrakech. Tamansourt would also

contribute 200 hectares in afforestation by planting 100,000 trees and 10,000 palm trees. Finally, the new

---

[33] New Towns, Satellite Cities: Towards a Profound Reform of our Urban System (VNVS, 2004, p. 20)
[34] December 24th 2004

town would absorb 5,000 households from bidonvilles surrounding the tourist hub, Marrakech, and contribute to the overall goal of slum eradication set forth by the VSBP. The fact that Tamansourt was initially planned as an industrial zone located between two major cities, Marrakech and Asfi, meant its location on a major highway was an advantage. The highway was not advantageous when its main purpose became housing. The maps below show how Tamansourt's proposed industrial plan from the 1990s was appropriated to fit its new goal of housing provision. The director of urbanization division at the Urban Agency in Marrakech explained how the initial plan for the area was adapted to fulfil the VNP's goals:

> The idea of where it [the design] came from to begin with, you might have seen in Al Omrane, it came after a study on regional urbanization/management plan (from the 1990s) it was done as a continuation of this [1990s] plan… to create a separate medina, Tamansourt. Its location changed a little, because the valley was going through the middle of the medina… a section in its north and south, and it was an industrial medina in the beginning, but the vision changed, and they made it mixed, it has some small industrial areas, and other mixed uses, so now it's primarily housing. (Marrakech, 03/22-270, 2019)

Figure 5-2. Early 1990s proposed site plan for an industrial zone on the route from Marrakech to Safi. Source: Urban Agency of Marrakech presentation of Tamansourt's progress January 14, 2015.
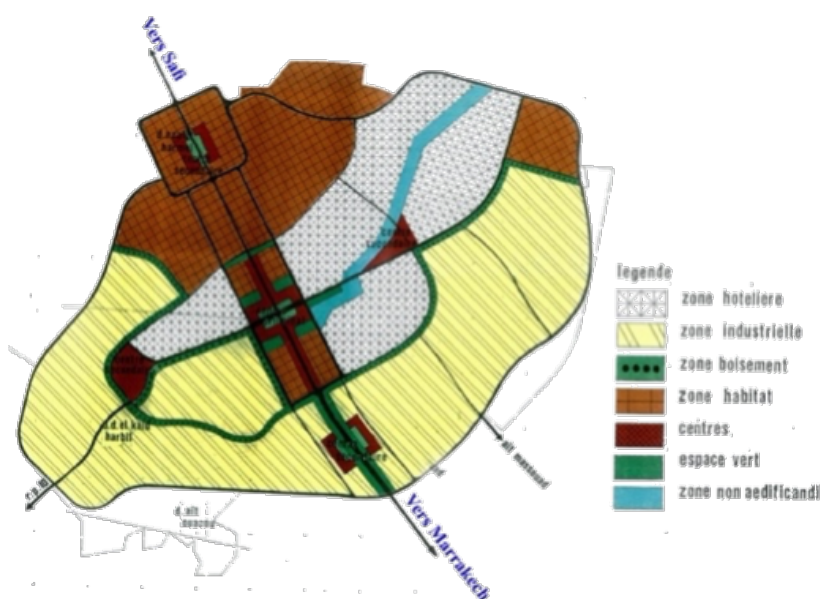
Although housing was incorporated in the plan at a much later stage, the overall site plan and layout of Tamansourt remained similar to the 1995 proposed industrial zone. The major drawback of maintaining the initial design layout of an industrial zone was that the national highway in its center now split the new town into two parts making it extremely difficult and dangerous for residents to cross from one side to another. Today commercial activity, restaurants, retail stores, and the informal market are all located in the western side of Tamansourt. During my time in Tamansourt (2019), I lived in the eastern side and crossed the highway regularly when I shopped for groceries and other household items. I experienced firsthand both the danger and feeling of being isolated from the town center. To connect the two sides on plan, a series of 'throughabouts' were added along the highway as intersections and entrances to Tamansourt. (See Figure 5-3). A 'throughabout' is a roundabout that consists of a main road going through the middle of the circle (Cambridge Dictionary, 2021).

Figure 5-3. Evolution of Tamansourt's Plan from 1990 (left), 1995 (center), and 2002 (right). Source: Urban Agency of Marrakech presentation of Tamansourt's progress January 14, 2015.
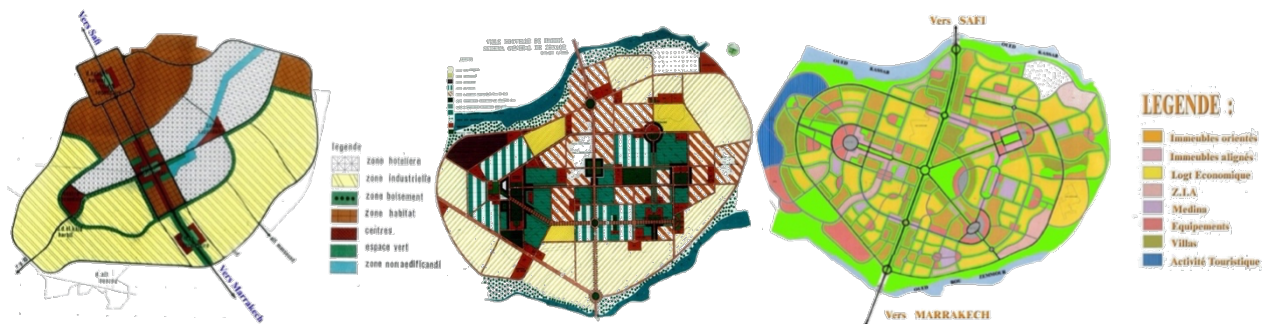
These split roundabouts are large in scale and often confuse drivers, motorcyclists, and pedestrians. Many cars and motorcycles enter and exit these large roundabouts on the wrong side of the road thinking it is a two-way street. Early in 2019, while I was residing in Tamansourt, Al Omrane and the Commune of Harbeel announced that a pedestrian overpass will be constructed to connect the two hemispheres. The overpasses were indeed constructed later that year as a road safety measure at a cost of four million Moroccan Dirhams (about $447,500) (Kech24 News, 2019). (See Figure 5-4). As part of the 2013 design competition for Tamansourt's city center organized by Al Omrane Tamansourt, one of the

proposals made by, OUALALOU + CHOI, an architectural firm based in Paris and Casablanca was to transform "previously inaccessible spaces into active destinations hosting public amenities and community activities" (OUALALOU + CHOI, 2013). The central 'throughabout' is one space they proposed could be transformed into a central urban landmark and shaded plaza that connects the two sides of the town and provides a public space to host weekly farmers markets (ibid). Although the practicality of the proposed design is questionable, as it would require reducing speed limits drastically on the national highway, the concept was worth showcasing. (See Figure 5-5).

Figure 5-4. The main 'throughabout' in the center of Tamansourt separating its eastern/western sides (left). The pedestrian overpass constructed in 2019 over the main 'throughabout' pictured on the left (right). Source: Google satellite imagery, 2020 and Kech24 News. 2019. "The Absence of Spaces for Play Turns an Iron Bridge into a Sanctuary for Tamansourt Children." *Kech24 Online News Outlet*, October 23, 2019.

Figure 5-5. OUALALOU + CHOI's proposal for Al Omrane Tamansourt's 2013 city center competition. Source: OUALALOU + CHOI. 2013. "Planning of the City Center of Tamansourt." Architecture Firm Portfolio. http://www.oualalouchoi.com/portfolio_page/tamansourt-maroc/.

As a 'new town development' under the VNP, Tamansourt's initial vision influenced its initial industrial character. One of the first amenity buildings built by Al Omrane was the Center for Traditional Crafts. At the time of my research (2019), it was 80% complete (Tamansourt, 03/26-274, 2019). However, Tamansourt is already close to an industrial zone, namely Sidi Ghanem (12km southeast from Tamansourt on the N7 autoroute). As a result, there was little demand for a traditional craftsmanship center. Instead, the Commune in which it is located requested taking over management of the Traditional Craft Center from Al Omrane and proposed the structure be utilized as a traditional market (souk) (Tamansourt, 03/26-274, 2019). After a series of discussions between Al Omrane and Harbeel Commune, both parties came to an agreement to transfer the building from Al Omrane to Harbeel Commune in exchange for other Commune properties[35].

A 500-hectare extension was added to Tamansourt's original plan in 2005. (See Figure 5-6). In an interview with the director of research and programming in Al Omrane Marrakech, he explained to us the extension plan for Tamansourt saying that:

The original plan of the ville [city] is 1200 hectares, then an extension was added to it as an off-shore industrial zone, and a campus. The vision is that it [Tamansourt] does not remain a dormitory town, so that it has jobs and a specialty or a function. Here is a residential extension with amenities (points to the northern extension area on the site plan of Tamansourt) … and there is university zone (points to western extension) … so its [the university zone] is near when you are entering [Tamansourt] from Marrakech… and it will be a campus… 150hectares … now there is a market proposed… in the extension… here or here (points to northern extension) … the market will be 3 hectares or more. (Tamansourt, 01/23-150, 2019)

---

[35] To make room for Tamansourt's development, Harbeel Commune was compensated for its properties with plots subdivided by Al Omrane. Until the time of writing no official transfer of the Souk building was made. According to Erraoui the building's cost is higher than the value of Harbeel's current properties. Negotiations and discussions on how the commune will be able to compensate Al Omrane are still ongoing (Tamansourt, 03/26-274, 2019).

Figure 5-6. Site plans of Tamansourt by Al Omrane. The site plan on the left is the original site plan for Tamansourt's 1200 hectares. The site plan on the right includes the 500-hectare extension to Tamansourt. Source: Al Omrane Tamansourt.

Tamansourt's Location and Governance. Tamansourt is located in Harbeel Commune (*Prefecture*), which has an area of 25,000 hectares. Harbeel was established in 1992 with the national prefecture divisions. At the time of my research (2019), Harbeel was run by a group of 35 elected officials with the majority from the *Rassemblement National des Indépendants* Party (in Arabic: "*tjmo' watani lilahrar"*). The officials hold 6-year terms (the current local council term is 2015-2021). The number of council members in each regional prefecture in Morocco is dependent on the population of residents within the designated area. The elected officials then select a president and vice presidents and establish fundamental committees for development, utilities, services, youth and sport, etc. These officials work alongside a technical expert/public employee to manage the commune. Before Tamansourt, the commune was responsible for 20 *douars* (semi-informal traditional housing settlements). Two *douars* are now located within Tamansourt and their management has been lumped into that of the new town. The commune continues to oversee 18 *douars* surrounding Tamansourt. In an interview, Jamal Erraoui, a vice president of Harbeel Commune Council, described how the council is responsible for both the "*medina*" of Tamansourt which is an "urban" area as well as the surrounding *douars* (rural villages). He emphasized that the law governing commune management is universal throughout Morocco and does not distinguish

between the way in which rural and urban areas must be managed. Each area is simply to be managed depending on its needs (Tamansourt, 03/26-274, 2019).

Tamansourt's Land Acquisition. Tamansourt is built on *guich* land, which is land historically granted to the members of the military. Guich land is considered communal land. The structures built on-top of the land belong to indigenous collective owners and their descendants (*sulaliyeen*). Therefore, two administrations were involved in the land acquisition process: the director of rural affairs under the Ministry of Interior and the State (Ministry of Finance). As mentioned in Chapter Three, communal land is considered vacant unless needed by the State. When needed, the State can incorporate communal land into their domain (*makhzen*) because the Ministry of Interior is its guardian. The land of present day Tamansourt was chosen for two reasons, first it was government land and could easily be used as a solution to relieve urban pressure and second, because it was not far from Marrakech (about 14km away) (Marrakech, 03/25-272, 2019).

On the 26th of March 2004, an agreement for the utilization of public land was signed by the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Housing. This agreement enabled the work in Tamansourt to begin, even though the land was not yet surveyed and by-rights landowners were not yet compensated. In fact, the first agreement states 1180 hectares, after topographic studies; the second agreement measures the exact area as 1198 hectares (Marrakech, 03/25-272, 2019). Land value for Harbeel Commune was determined after an expert surveyor committee met in September 2004, yet still the land was registered officially so that work could begin without Al Omrane (ERAC at the time) facing delays. Al Omrane worked with the regional prefecture, while topographers issued a list of items situated on the land that were subject to compensation (i.e., trees, wells, houses, stables, fences). Trees bought by Al Omrane were replanted at the entrance of Tamansourt. (See Figure 5-7). Compensated families were given the choice between monetary compensation or serviced plots as their compensation value. On July 26th 2005, the sales contracts for Tamansourt's extension were signed.

Figure 5-7. Trees being dug out and replanted in Tamansourt to make room for construction. Photograph by author, March 18, 2019.

Real estate and land acquisition are a long-standing challenge for the Moroccan government. The difficulties relative to land registration in Tamansourt began in 1945 when the State (Makhzan) requested Harbeel's land be transferred from the Government and "by rights" owners to the State (Makhzan). Residents objected and the request was transferred to court and remained an active case from 1945 to 2006. The plaintiffs (in this case, their descendants) were brought to court in 2006 to begin the public hearing process. The plaintiffs, who wanted the land to remain owned by initial by rights holders, represented 12 or 13 *douars* within Harbeel Commune (Tamansourt, 03/26-274, 2019). After hearing from the plaintiffs, the Ministry of Interior then took over representation of the collective land (sulaliyeen) in this court case. (See more on the role of Ministry of Interior as guardian of communal land in Chapter Three). The MOI worked on reaching an agreement such that the land can be registered as 50% Makhzan (Government- the Ministry of Finance is its guardian), and 50% for the by-rights collective landowners (*sulaliyeen* – which still the Ministry of Interior is its guardian). A group of local activists involved in local associations appealed this decision and hired separate lawyers to represent them, but the court arrived at the same 50/50 ruling and this is what the land registration document for Tamansourt now states. The decree allowing the state to sell two pieces of government owned land in Harbeel Commune, Marrakech to the Regional Agency of Planning and Construction of Tensift (ERAC Tensift) is included in Appendix 8. Following this ruling, all land in Harbeel Commune was registered under two owners:

indigenous collective owners and government. (Makhzenian land is governed by the Ministry of Finance - see more on the land tenure system in Morocco Chapter Three).

When land was bought by the Government from the by-rights communal landowners in 2006, the landowners were compensated 50% of the value at the time (8,000MAD/Hectare = approx. $865/2.5 acres for each party) and the Government land bureau was compensated 50%. As real estate prices increased in the area, land purchased in the extension of Tamansourt was sold for 40,000MAD/Hectare ($4,300/2.5 acres for each party i.e.,40,000MAD for the by right land holder and 40,000MAD for the Government). In my interviews, communal landowners who sold their land to Al Omrane in 2006 complained that they felt cheated in that they sold their land, which was central to the establishment and development of Tamansourt, for a fraction of what the extension was sold for later.

Tamansourt's Pre-Existing Communities. In Tamansourt there are two pre-existing *douars*: Douar El Harmel, located in the center of the new town, and Douar Ait Ali, located on the north eastern edge of its development boundary. According to locals, both *douars* were promised in-situ upgrading, however, officials insist that under the new town vision only one *douar* was to be upgraded while the central *douar* was meant to be relocated, so that a "*Centre Ville*" that gives the medina its "radiance" and allows it to live up to the standards of a "modern" new town' can take its place (Tamansourt, 03/26-274, 2019). Today, only Douar Ait Ali is benefiting in-situ upgrading. (See Figure 5-8).

The confusion is based on the State's altered vision for the site's development from an industrial zone in the early 1990s to a new town in the early 2000s. As indicated in the 1995 site plan, both *douars* were to be surrounded by economic housing R+1 and R+2 plots. The 2002 plan, however, overlays a blanket of economic housing over the pre-existing neighborhoods. In fact, the "Centre Ville" plan for Tamansourt was only created in 2015 as a result of a "recovery plan" which was developed in 2014 by Al Omrane Tamansourt. Tamansourt's Recovery Plan was created following the request of the Ministry of Housing (*Ministère de l'Habitat et de la Politique de la Ville,* French acronym - MHPV). Its main objective is to alleviate the "dysfunctions and shortcomings" of the new town thus far and to revitalize

Tamansourt, strengthen its attractiveness, integrate it and strengthen its connectivity to surrounding territories, and to accelerate provision of socio-economic services and infrastructure (Al Omrane Tamesna, 2018).

Figure 5-8. Paving of roads as part of in-situ upgrading in Douar Ait Ali, Tamansourt. Photograph by author, January 26, 2019.

Additionally, until the 2013 recovery plan, Douar El Harmel area was zoned for economic housing. Following the recovery plan discussions, a new focus was on put on the vision of the medina. New and "bigger" projects were proposed, such as the university campus and an extension for an industrial zone on the northern edge. The new vision for Tamansourt leans towards an identity of education, research, and development (Tamansourt, 03/26-274, 2019). A university campus, training and research institutions, and gendarme and police academies, along with vocational training centers, all contribute to this revised purpose. Along with these new changes, in the updated plan Douar El Harmel was highlighted as an area "under study" (*opérations en cours d'etude*). In 2015, a plan for a "Centre Ville" in place of Douar El Harmel was presented. The plan proposal by Al Omrane shows mixed use apartment buildings, small open spaces, and fountains. At the time of this research, the Commune had made the recommendation to postpone the "Centre Ville" plan implementation in favor of a more robust study that takes into consideration a new and focused vision for Tamansourt. (See Figure 5-9).

Figure 5-9. Proposed site plan for Tamansourt's city center. Source: Al Omrane Tamansourt July, 2015.

According to officials, Douar El Harmel, located at the heart of Tamansourt is the central obstacle to the development of the new town. In 2010 the relocation process for Douar El Harmel began; to date (2019), 1200 residents were relocated but around 380-400 still remain in place. The *douar* is partially demolished with only few structures standing. (See Figure 5-10). Families were given the choice between monetary compensation or housing. Families who are original settlers in the *douar* were compensated with serviced plots, whereas families who had bought into the *douar* (i.e., not part of the original by-rights settlers) were offered low-cost apartment units whereby they were to pay a minimal price of 80,000MAD. Today about five families from the original *douar* owners remain in the half demolished *douar*, along with a group of families who bought into the *douar* but were not satisfied with the apartment compensation unit since they bought larger homes within the *douar*. Commune authorities worked with Al Omrane to provide those remaining families with serviced plots within Tamansourt so that the *douar* issue could be resolved in a timely manner. They will be compensated in a subdivision at the edge of

Tamansourt and adjacent to its extension, near Douar Ait Ali and Souk El Ouad – the wood souk and facing Ksour Ourzazate development.

Figure 5-10. Remnants of Dour El Harmel in central Tamansourt. Photographs by author, February 28, 2019.

Compensated families complain about being given plots at the edges of the medina. As one resident complained *"they [the authorities/Al Omrane] fenced the medina with us"* (Tamansourt, 02/28-224, 2019). Compensated families were often provided land on the outskirts and delayed transportation and public services have made it hard for struggling lower-income families to send their children to the local vocational college or university in Marrakech. Officials acknowledge that original by-rights owners were compensated towards the outskirts of the new town and while the ultimate reasoning behind their

relocation to less desirable plots is market value, often times the goal of social mixing is brought up in the discussion as well:

> Because the compensation plots have less value than those that are to be sold… the ones for sale need to be special… on the street, on a green space… in terms of the compensation plots, we put them all together and next to them sold plots, so that we create a social mix, between those who live in Douar and their surroundings… it's a social mixture… (Marrakech, 03/25-272, 2019)

> While Al Omrane is the entity meant to provide social housing on behalf of the government, it

still is considered a commercial company and needs to sell its product (i.e., housing). As one official in Al Omrane put it:

> As an association what is important for us is the housing issue, but health, education, transportation, it's their [the Government's] responsibility to provide those amenities for the residents… sadly, in the beginning there wasn't a program that linked all the administrations together but afterwards there was a series of efforts to bring in public amenities (referring to the recovery plans). (Marrakech, 03/25-272, 2019)

Referring to the management responsibilities Al Omrane has been taking up another official at Al Omrane Marrakech explained: "we [Al Omrane] are still a company and we are controlled by an audit at the end of the year, we cannot spend money on fixing anything without justification (i.e., vandalized lamp posts etc.)" (Tamansourt, 01/23-150, 2019).

Tamansourt's Implementation. Tamansourt's development is unique, particularly when contrasted with that of Tamesna. Tamansourt has a large number of serviced lots for development by individuals. A system had to be put in place to ensure that purchased plots are built on time, according to the overall vision of the new town, at a reasonable cost with architects/engineers paid for their services promptly. To ensure an organized development of plot subdivisions, the Society of Engineers in Marrakech was involved in the design of plot subdivisions in the eight phases of Tamansourt. That is, the overall master plan of Tamansourt was designed by Al Omrane Tamansourt, but the Society of Engineers was

responsible for contracting with local architects and members of the Society of Engineers in Marrakech to come up with subdivision plans for serviced plots and eventually to take on the design and building of housing on the serviced plots. As part of the private-public partnership elemeint of the VNP, the agreement between Al Omrane, the Prefecture, the Commune, the Urban Agency, and the Society of Engineers allows privately practicing local architects to equally benefit from the development of new town Tamansourt. Regardless of whether architectural firms are more established or architects are more experienced, any architectural firm that has been established for at least one year and is registered with the Society of Engineers in Marrakech has the opportunity to benefit from the new town development[36] (Marrakech, 03/21-269, 2019).

Tamansourt is divided, like a pie, into eight phases. (See Figure 5-11). The phases are only spatial divisions (i.e., not relating to temporal development) and allow Al Omrane to allocate a number of engineers to assist with the design and to benefit from a subdivided area. A competition was established for architects/engineers to design different plot subdivisions. In an interview, Architect Yassir Rafi, based in Marrakech, shared his experience with submitting a plot division plan for phase six. Rafi's firm was established in 2015 and during their second year of operation they applied to join the efforts in Tamansourt. His firm was one of three firms that was involved in a competition with Al Omrane to design plot subdivisions for phase six. Rafi explained that for the phase six competition the main requirement given to engineers by Al Omrane was for a design that provides: plots for three-story buildings, plots for two-story buildings, and a space to build a clinic (Marrakech, 03/20-268, 2019). No maximum or minimum number of plots was requested by Al Omrane. In the end, the engineer and site plan that yielded the greatest number of plots (or profit) was the one awarded the project (ibid).

Tamansourt's massive scale, and the large number of serviced plots created also required an organized system for issuing individual building permits and meeting construction standards. For this

---

[36] At time of interview (2019) there were 220 engineers registered at the Society of Engineers in Marrakech, but not all of them were involved in Tamansourt.

process, Al Omrane Tamansourt again involved the Society of Engineers in Marrakech. The Society of Engineers assigned ten registered engineers to each of Tamansourt's eight phases. Plot owners within each phase are provided with a list of the 10 assigned engineers, from which they can hire for their project (Marrakech, 03/20-268, 2019). Engineers who designed a plot subdivision site were not assigned plots to construct within their own planned subdivision. Rafi, for example, designed the subdivision plan for phase six but was part of a group of 10 engineers who were assigned plots in the phase eight plan to build on at the request of property owners. As part of the collaboration with the Society of Engineers, local architects are only assigned projects in R+2 zones. All firms then work from the same designs and charge the same price for plot designs. The serviced plot developments in Tamansourt are heavily dependent on the organization and leadership of the Society of Engineers.

Figure 5-11. Al Omrane's site plan for Tamansourt showing eight phases (in French: "*tranche*"). Source: Al Omrane Tamansourt.

Case Study 2: New Town Tamesna (Established 2007)

Tamesna's Vision. With the VNP policy put into action through royal decree, Tamansourt became the initial experiment that had to be quickly erected. New town Tamesna followed and was inaugurated on March 13, 2007 by HM King Mohammed VI. The slogan "Tamesna a city of solidarity and modernity" (in French: *'Tamesna cité de la solidarité et de la modernité'*) as cited in the VNDT (2007) document sums up the vision for Tamesna to become a modern mixed-income community at the outskirts of Rabat. Tamesna's launch and initial promotion was slightly different than that of Tamansourt in that, by 2007, the Regional Agencies of Planning and Construction (ERAC) were combined with the state's national housing operator, the Al Omrane Holding Company, which had been established in 2004 to realize the State's vision towards a slum-free cities (VSBP). Al Omrane's new mission extended beyond the fight against informal settlements and towards implementing social housing programs and site development schemes proposed by the Government. A new department was created dedicated to new town planning and a specific subsidiary, Al Omrane Tamesna, was created to guide and manage Tamesna's development. Another unique aspect of Tamesna is that it capitalized on private-public partnerships and 80% of its development was allocated to the private sector, whereas only 60% of Tamansourt was allocated to PPPs. Initially Al Omrane was only responsible for overall management of Tamesna and 20% of its housing development. About forty-two contracts were signed in 2007 and 2008 with private developers who would each develop a given site division according to a "*Cahier des Charge*" (specifications document) issued by Al Omrane (Tamesna, 11/28-126, 2018).

Much like Tamansourt, Tamesna's main goal was to relieve the urban pressure on its neighboring city, Rabat, by providing over 50,000 housing units and housing a population of about 250,000 inhabitants. Like Tamansourt's plan whereby the initial proposal to build a new city was taken from a 1990's national regional planning scheme, the plan for Tamesna was also adapted from a 1990's proposal to establish a new city in the commune of Sidi Yayha Zaer, to be named Noor Zaer (Keep, 2017, p. 16). The initial plan for Noor Zaer was premised on accommodating residents from informal settlements in

Sidi Yahia Zaer into serviced plots (ibid). However, under the VNP the pressure to produce large numbers on housing units shifted the initial plan towards massive apartment housing developments built through the PPP model. In fact, serviced plots were discouraged in the initial phases of Tamesna's development, as Pol at the Urban Agency of Skhirate-Témara explained:

> In the beginning plots were not allowed because they [housing officials] wanted the Moroccan towns to be orderly because otherwise each one would build differently, like the paint, tiles, sidewalks… in Tamesna they thought why don't we build in a beautiful manner in a complete and coherent way… because when people take plot divisions the city will not be built up until 20 years… it will take more time… here [in Tamesna] even the housing sector will become a complete and organized sector… (Témara, 11/27-124, 2018).

When presenting Tamesna's program at the two-day convention on new town development, the president of Al Omrane Holding's Management Board, Abdelaziz Filali Belhaj, noted that Tamesna's development follows guidelines put forth by the National Scheme of Regional Planning (SNAT) (VNDT, 2007, p. 111). The project utilizes publicly available land, a public land reserve of nearly 1,000 hectares located near an existing urban core (Sidi Yahia des Zaërs) and aims to serve an area surrounded with strong urban growth (Témara, Ain Aouda and Mers El Kheir neighboring centers) (ibid). Following the VNP, Tamesna aims to proactively meet the rising national demand for housing. The housing deficit in 2005 was estimated at 30,000 units and by 2015 the housing demand was estimated at 160,000 units. Therefore, over the 10 years between 2005-2015, an estimated 190,000 housing units were needed in order to attend to the growing housing demand (Abdelaziz Filali Belhaj in VNDT, 2007, p. 111). Tamesna provides 27% (52,000) of this need (ERAC's contribution to VNDT, 2007).

In his presentation for the "New Cities-Satellite Cities" convention, Belhaj listed four main strategic objectives set for Tamesna: (VNDT, 2007, p. 113).

1. Prepare an economic development area that will contribute to the metropolitan area of Rabat.

2. Absorb slums from Témara and Sidi Yahia des Zaer such that to meet the demand for housing as part of the 100,000 social housing units per year and to stimulate the supply of various housing products to ensure diversity.

3. Provide the region with adequate socio-collective amenities and possibly initiate a large research university and technical training center.

4. Create the conditions for sustainable development with respect for the natural environment and by involving the population and local stakeholders.

Unlike Tamansourt where the design was derived from an earlier schema for an industrial zone flanking a national highway, Tamesna's site plan was based on its surrounding ecological features. Tamesna, which in Amazigh/Berber language means "vast plains", is situated by a forest initially known as Forêt Mkhinza, now known as Forêt Tamesna. In an interview, Architect Yousra El Amrani at the Urban Agency in Skhirate-Témara shared a presentation that describes how Tamesna's formal site plan was derived. The document reads: "Tamesna was created mainly following a political will not only for creating a slum resettlement area but above all to create a new independent city governed by ideas of environmental integration and social mixing" (Urban Agency of Skhirate-Temara & El Amrani, n.d., p. 7) (Témara, 07/13-2 & 3, 2017). So how was the formal plan and urban translation of the concept derived? To answer the question, the document provides a concept diagram whereby the plan of Tamesna is shown to have radiated from an oval nucleus established on a ridge that spreads outwards. "The same form spreads out all over the ridge. It is essentially based on a curved form, a succession of waves tracing the main avenues and arteries of the city. The shape of the plan also follows fluidity of the Lkkem Valley (oued lkkem)" (Urban Agency of Skhirate-Temara & El Amrani, n.d., p. 7). (See Figure 5-12). The topography of the terrain is highest at the center and therefore the ridge is where a central axis of symmetry is formed. The plan of Tamesna, therefore, originated from its surrounding typography and it resembles a series of waves radiating outwards from the central ridge, which creates an axis of symmetry. (Figure 5-13 shows how the concept was transformed into technical plans).

Figure 5-12. Tamesna's concept diagram. Source: Presentation by Architect Yousra El Amrani at the Urban Agency of Skhirate-Témara
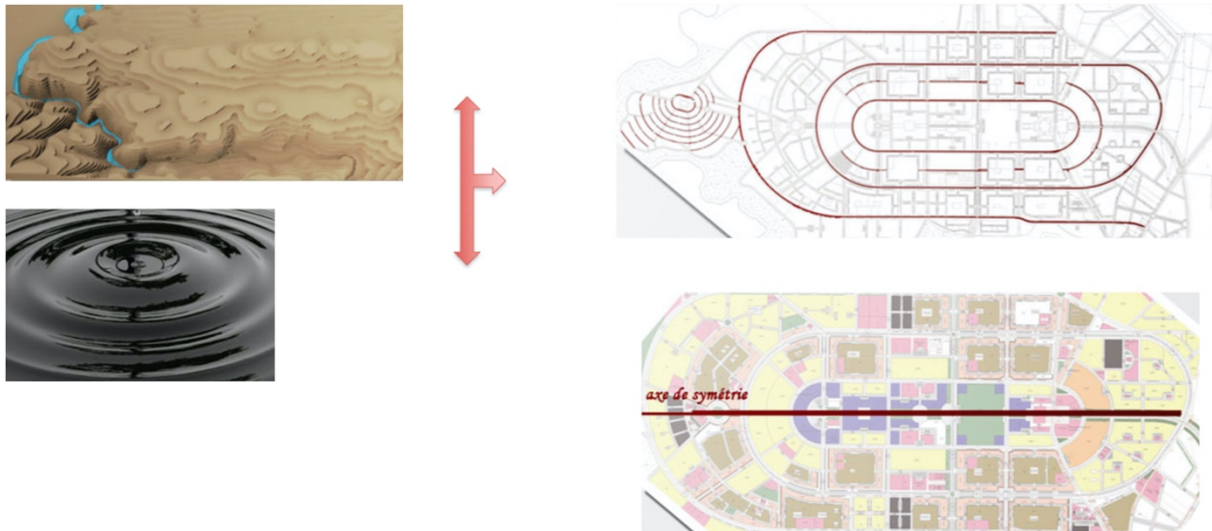
Figure 5-13. Technical site plans for Tamesna. Source: VNDT. 2007. "Villes Nouvelles Dossier Thématique (New Towns, Thematic Documents Collection)." Kingdom of Morocco.
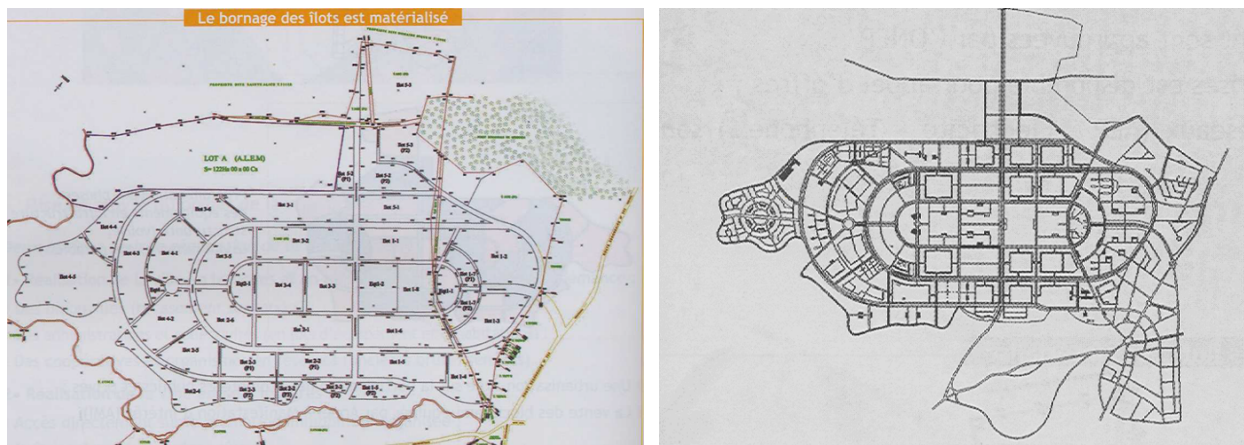
Tamesna's plan features a 13-hectare park in its central axis. During a site development meeting at the Urban Agency in Skhirate-Témara in 2017, an architect from Al Omrane presented the most recent plan for the public park. The new design proposal includes a "Mediterranean" park with statues from different countries, a garden, restaurants, cafes, and other activities (playgrounds etc.) (Urban Agency of Skhirate-Témara Site Development Meeting, 07/13-4, 2017). It was also noted that Al Omrane is working on securing PPPs that might help activate the park by developing restaurants and cafes that will provide

the park with revenue. A grand mosque is also located across from the large public park. The mosque is planned to be the second largest mosque in Morocco after the grand mosque Hassan II in Casablanca. Both Tamesna and Tamansourt include traditional housing style developments by Al Omrane reflective of their regional architectural context. In Tamansourt, the Medinat Al Hamra, was designed drawing on principles from the traditional medinas of Morocco with a red facade mimicking the red clay used in the old medina of Marrakech. Similarly, in Tamesna, the Kasbah development by Al Omrane mimics traditional architecture from neighboring Rabat featuring fortified walls and whitewashed facades. Tamesna's Kasbah, grand mosque, central park, and proximity to a forest were often highlighted by officials as the main attractions that make Tamesna a desirable place to live. (See Figure 5-14).

Figure 5-14. Picture of Medinat Al Hamra housing development in Tamansourt (left). Brochure advertising the Kasbah housing development in Tamesna. Source: Al Omrane Tamansourt. 2013. "Madinat Al Hamra," 2013. http://madinat-al-hamra.herokuapp.com/ and Al Omrane Tamesna. 2017. "La Kasbah de Tamesna," 2017. https://www.alomrane.gov.ma/Reseau/Al-omrane-tamesna/Produits/.

Tamesna's Location and Land Acquisition. Tamesna is in the rural commune of Sidi Yahya Zaer, which is part of the Skhirate-Témara region of Rabat. The Skhirate-Témara region is very important geographically because of its proximity to Rabat, but also because the region borders both Rabat and Casablanca (Témara, 07/13-2 & 3, 2017). There are 10 territorial regions within the Skhirate-Témara region and Tamesna is located in the largest rural commune (prefecture), Sidi Yahya Zaer. Tamesna's location is considered ideal in that it is close to three major established urban areas, Rabat, Skhirate, and

Témara. It is also near three industrial zones in Témara, Ain Atiq and Ain Aouda. (See Figure 5-15).

While the location is ideal given proximity to other urban areas, the primary reason for Tamesna's

location was the availability of State-owned land. As Mostapha Palambo at Skhirate-Témara's Urban

Agency explained: "Tamesna was built based on public land availability. It was the most determining

agent for its location" (Témara, 11/27-124, 2018).

Figure 5-15. Map showing the location of Tamesna in relation to surrounding urban areas. Source: VNDT. 2007. "Villes Nouvelles Dossier Thématique (New Towns, Thematic Documents Collection)." Kingdom of Morocco. Pg. 119.
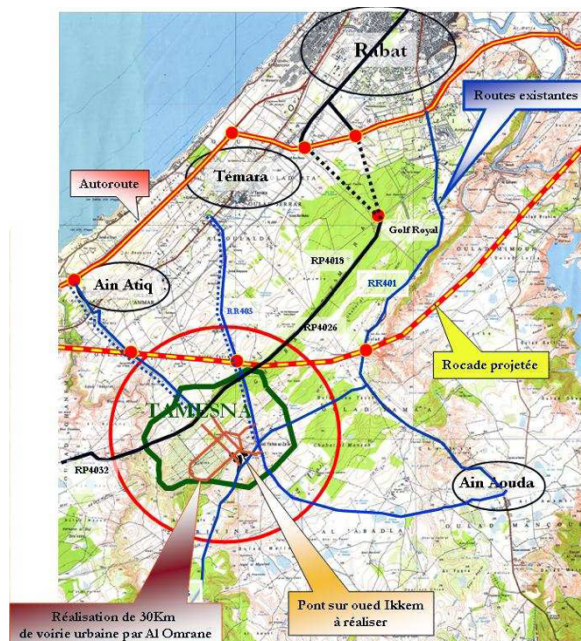
As mentioned previously, Tamesna's initial implementation is different organizationally than that

of Tamansourt. At the outset, Al Omrane Rabat had created a department specifically dedicated to the

development and planning of the new town Tamesna. The commune was not as involved in the planning

since the land was already predominantly State owned unlike Tamansourt's *guiche* land. Although

Tamesna is commonly categorized as a blank-slate development, before its founding there were, and still

are, people who lived on that land since the French protectorate period in the 1950s. The families of

former employees of a public company named SODEA (*Société de Développement Agricole*) still occupy

an informal village in the south-western area of Tamesna. (See Figure 5-16). Douar SODEA was built by

the first generation of employees who planted and cultivated a vineyard for producing and exporting wine. When the company left, the former employees stayed. The people living in Douar Sodea believed that when SODEA, the company, left, "the company placed us in the hands of Al Omrane" (Focus Group in Douar Sodea, Tamesna, 11/29-135, 2019). Unlike other *douars* surrounding Tamesna, Douar Sodea has not grown or welcomed outsiders—everyone living there has family and kinship ties. The land on which they live today is the home of their ancestors. They have no family or tribal land elsewhere. Until the time of this research (2018), residents in Douar Sodea were waiting for their compensation from Al Omrane. Unlike Douar El Harmel which is in central Tamansourt and creating hardships for local authorities planning its removal, Douar Sodea is located at the far edge of Tamesna. It is smaller in scale and the residents are all united in voicing their concerns to local authorities and Al Omrane. For those reasons, there does not seem to be much pressure to remove the *douar* as of yet. As one resident put it:

There is no sale [of informal shacks], it is just our sons and daughters, with other douars they [the authorities] found a lot of difficulties, but for us in Douar Sodea the Caid [authority agent] said we didn't find problems with it, they say we [local authorities] don't have a problem with Douar Sodea, so let's finish rehousing all the other slums first then come to solve the problem of Sodea… and God knows.. we don't know much time we have left in this world. (Focus Group in Douar Sodea, Tamesna, 11/29-135, 2019)

Figure 5-16. Views of Tamesna in the backdrop from the informal settlement Douar SODEA. Photographs by author, November 29, 2018.

V. Illustrating, Advertising and Promoting an Ideal Urban Settlement

The final section of this chapter is dedicated to the ways in which the new towns as State spaces conceived by elite professionals are illustrated, advertised, and promoted to the general public. Describing the work of the marketing department at Al Omrane Tamesna, Tariq El Aidi explains:

First, in general we do prospection work, searching for customers. We use different communication methods through billboards, for example (he shows us an example of an advertisement for a new development they are working on) that we launch in different communication channels like newspapers, and magazines. This is how people know how to get here [Tamesna] and what we are doing exactly. Most of the people that live in Tamesna, this is how they found out about us. (Tamesna, 10/01-22, 2018)

Indeed, driving on any of Morocco's well-constructed *autoroutes* (motorways) from its Mediterranean north to its Saharan south, you will pass by hundreds of billboards advertising new housing and community developments. (See Figure 5-17 & Figure 5-18). Apart from the image of community site plans, monochromatic housing complexes, apartment unit floorplans, and cube-shaped single-family houses, the billboards display, in the brightest text, what is seemingly the most economic pricing for the advertised developments. Renderings showing manicured lawns, clean buildings, happy families, and catchy slogans like *"better home for a better future"* (in Darija*: sakan ahsn lhyat ahsan*) give potential buyers, and the occasional tourist traveling on the *autoroute,* a preview of a future that is now within arm's reach for anyone. In the background of these large billboards are empty stretches of land, some divided for agricultural purposes, some occupied by tower cranes and construction vehicles with village settlements in the distance, while others remain simply empty with heaps of trash and lonely cattle.

Figure 5-17. Billboards advertising new housing. The billboard on the right reads *"the best price for the best housing".* Photograph by author, November 30, 2018.

Figure 5-18. Billboard in the left image reads "*Tamansourt a city of the future… Tamansourt welcomes Moroccans from around the world*". Billboard in the right image advertising housing in Tamesna reads "*build the villa you always dream of*". Photographs by author, June 7, 2016 (left) and July 13, 2017 (right).

A second ubiquitous element found in any of Morocco's expanding urban areas is the *bureau du vente* (real estate sales office). (See Figure 5-19). Construction site boards, advertising billboards, and sales offices feature prominent real estate developers, such as Addoha and Al Saada, not to mention the overwhelming presence of Al Omrane Holding, the leading housing and development operator in the country.

Figure 5-19. Left image shows a sales office in new town Al Rahma near Casablanca. The caption reads "*a house that will satisfy you and release you from renting*". Right image shows a sales office of one of the prominent housing developers in Morocco, Addoha. Photographs by author, November 30, 2018.

Another place where Tamesna, Tamansourt and Al Omrane's widespread housing developments were highly promoted was at Al Omrane's Housing Expo. During my time in Tamesna (September 2018-December 2018), I was able to attend the second annual Housing Expo organized by Al Omrane at

Casablanca's International Fairground (October 12ᵗʰ 2018). The experience could be closely related to traveling on a prestigious airline. The front desk reception ladies were dressed professionally in uniforms, much like modern flight attendants with scarves tied to their necks. Each region (Casablanca, Rabat, Tangier etc.) had their own section in the fairgrounds with large screens displaying rendered images of housing offered by Al Omrane in each region. The screens showed site plans of housing compounds with callouts to the amenities planned (hammam, school, commercial stores etc.). A kids' zone and refreshments area were next to a large lounge area surrounded with posters and lined with seats looking towards a projected screen. This area is where Al Omrane and government officials were going to provide a presentation had the feel of a VIP lounge. A traditional Moroccan band lined up at the entrance and opened the event with a music procession. (See Figure 5-20).

Figure 5-20. Pictures from Al Omrane's 2018 Expo at Casablanca International Fair Grounds. Photographs by author, October 12, 2018.

Advertising and Media Coverage of the Ideal Urban Settlement. While billboards and promotional materials advertising housing were widespread across the Moroccan landscape, the image of the ideal settlement that meets all the everyday needs of a typical Moroccan family reaches the Moroccan public more directly in the comfort of their living rooms and under the most significant circumstances.

Every Ramadhan, Muslim families around the world gather at sunset to break their fast while watching

television shows. In the MENA region this valuable airtime is capitalized on by telecommunication

companies (ex. Maroc Telecom, Meditel, Inwi), large food and beverage companies (Knorr, Centrale

Dannone Coca Cola), and charitable giving organizations. Much like Super Bowl advertising, Ramadan

advertising campaigns have become a competitive arena. Advertisements aired during Iftar [the meal to

break the fast] reach the widest national audience. Around the Muslim world, different industries compete

to produce creative and memorable commercial campaigns. While private development companies were

on Moroccan public television channels in previous years, in 2012 one developer, namely Addoha, took

their commercial campaign further by featuring a top Moroccan pop singer (Samira Said)[37]. The

commercial featured the singer singing to rhythms consistent with her pop style. The lyrics called the

audience to come listen and see with her the life in a commentary Addoha housing compound where

"hopes and dreams become reality and the days always get better and you'll always advance forward". (In

Darija: *"amal wl ahlam haqiqa ya slm, dymn thla lyam diymn tzido lqdam"*) (Groupe Addoha, 2012b).

The artist is known for singing in Egyptian dialect, however, the commercial features common Darija

dialect. This is significant since the language used in Moroccan public television has long been an issue of

debate[38]. In fact, housing advertisements by Addoha, Al Omrane, and other developers prior to 2010 were

generally made using Modern Standard Arabic or French[39]. Beginning in 2011 advertisements began

using Darija (which is not a written language) more, clearly targeting different social classes with the goal

of reaching a larger population. In 2011, Addoha also presented an advertisement featuring a patriotic

---

[37] Other private housing developers include Chaabi Lil Iskane, Addoha and Les Espaces Saada. Al Omrane also advertises during Ramadan, but with less
[38] Elite Moroccans regularly speak French and Classical/Standard Modern Arabic and Tamazight are the country's official languages, Darija (the everyday colloquial language) is considered the countries third but unofficial language. While Darija is spoken by about 85% of the population, since it is not a written language there continues to be controversy on whether it should be used officially (See Errihani, 2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2016 for more on language and socio-political/economic relations bound to them in the Moroccan context).
[39] In 2011 Addoha also featured a famous celebrity to advertise their urban settlement Medinat Al Firdous (Bluegreen boradcast, 2011).

Moroccan song stressing that "Addoha *is* Moroccan" (Groupe Addoha, 2012a). This campaign clearly

sent out the message that home ownership is considered patriotic.

Since 2012, every Ramadan people from all over the country began to await a commercial

competition brought on by housing developers. (See Figure 5-22). Featuring celebrities and the most

popular song of the year, housing developments became the subject of catchy advertisements[40]. Top hits

are recreated by switching a song's lyrics into housing promotional material, offers, and words of

property ownership encouragement (ATEO Agency, 2017; Espaces Saada, 2013, 2015a, 2015b, 2018;

Groupe Addoha, 2012a, 2012b, 2014). Some catchy rhyming phrases include:

- *"Addoha in all the cities, from Tanga to **El Ayoun**, your house by law 3 bedrooms and a*
  salon (Urban Squad, 2019)*.*

- *"with 25 mill**ion**, a house with the best finis**ion** [finishing]"* (Espaces Saada, 2015a).

- *"eli **kari** ghda ysbh **shari"** –(meaning: the one who is renting now will be owning*
  tomorrow) (Groupe Addoha, 2012a).

Most re-written lyrics make promises for transportation, schools, commercial stores, and all the

amenities you need and promise that there will be a mosque, a school, and hammam nearby. Following

Addoha's hit commercial by pop singer Samira Said in 2012, a competing developer, Les Espaces Saada,

took the competition to another level by featuring the Indian actor and international star, Shah Rukh

Khan. He is a much-loved star in Morocco whose image is even used as templates for passport/ID

photographers in the *medina* of Rabat. (See Figure 5-21). Although advertising in Ramadan is strategic

from a marketing perspective, what makes the campaigns more interesting is that they promote a public

housing program on a television network that is jointly owned by King Mohammed VI's holding

company (*Société Nationale d'Investissement*, French acronym - SNI) and the Moroccan state. The

channel, 2M, is available free of charge and has coverage throughout Morocco. Before being sold to the

---

[40] Some well-known celebrities include: Saad Lamjarred, Cheb Khaled, Kazem Al Saher, Zina Daoudia, Asma Lmnawar, Ahmed Chaouki, among many others.

state and SNI, it was considered the first private broadcasting channel in Morocco. However, since its establishment in 1989, its CEO was the former son in law of the late King Hassan II. That is to say, the role of the state and media in the promotion and implementation of national housing and development policies, among other national agendas, in Morocco is clear. In fact, in 2009, communications scholar, Bouziane Zaid, analyzed how public service television is used in Morocco to promote social change and economic progress. Zaid (2009, p. viii, 2014) described how Morocco has utilized television broadcasting to "disseminate development ideas to its citizens". He considers whether programming at public stations is influenced by the elite class who he assumes push for more entertainment and fewer educational programs that would benefit the urban poor. His findings concluded that: "Al Aoula and 2M do promote the cultural agenda of a small privileged segment of Moroccan society and seem to shy away from, if not prevent, the possibility of allowing the concerns and perspectives of the poor and marginalized to be highlighted." (Zaid, 2009, p. 287).

Figure 5-21. Photocopy center advertisement in the *medina* of Rabat. Photograph by author, November 17, 2018.

Since it has been established that the Moroccan media has a strong potential to positively impact national development, the use of Ramadan advertising, Darija language and public programs that claim to address citizen concerns are all powerful tools to disseminate the State's housing and urban development agenda to the general public (Zaid, 2009). While the media in Morocco, in general, has been found to be a highly political, the use of television is particularly significant because, as of 2002, reportedly 76.07% of households in Morocco had televisions (Benchenna et al., 2017; NationMaster, n.d.).

Figure 5-22. (1) Addoha Ramadhan 2012 Advertisement featuring pop singer Samira Said standing in front of a generic apartment housing complex by Addoha (Groupe Addoha, 2012). (2) Addoha Ramadhan 2017 featuring famous Iraqi star Kazem Al Saher (Ateo Agency, 2017). (3) Espace Esaada ramadhan 2013 featuring Bollywood star Shah Rukh Khan (Espaces Saada, 2013). (4) Espace Saada ramadhan 2017 featuring Moroccan pop singer Asma Lmnwar (Espaces Saada, 2018).

Conclusion

Despite mobilizing the private sector under the new era of neoliberal development, planning and urbanization in Morocco continue to be a centralized project (Bogaert, 2018). The process under which the New Towns Program was realized as outlined in this chapter clearly situates the program in the category of centralized, high modernist projects not much different than those of the late nineteenth and twentieth centauries (cf. Brasilia and Chandigarh). Both the State and elite professionals believe that rational planning (on blank slates) and housing standardization is key to solving Morocco's biggest urban issues (i.e., rapid urbanization, the growing housing deficit, and informal housing). The image of an ideal Moroccan urban settlement with a school, mosque, *hammam* (public bath), and *farran* (public oven) within walking distance that has been widely advertised by private development companies is, in fact, the State's normative vision of how modern economic housing developments. The norms and values of the State are imposed on both the private sector and the public. Al Omrane provides private developers with a regulatory document "Cahier des Charge" that sets out the general rules for construction within specific

zones (i.e., attached housing, individual villas, compounds, and housing units facing enclosed courtyards, economic housing), as well as rules for social housing construction. Together the document that outlines the regulations for a new town site plan and different zones (Cahier des Charges du Plan de Morcellment) and the document that outlines regulations for social housing within the new towns (Cahier de Charges Relatif a la Realisation de Logements Sociaux) contribute to the monotonous physical reality of the built new town. This chapter has shown how the image of the ideal urban settlement as envisioned by the Moroccan government passes on from the Ministry of Housing[41] to its 21st century operational body, Al Omrane, and then to private partners (housing developers) whose billboards and marketing campaigns channel the Government's vision into the homes of the Moroccan public. In the following chapter, using firsthand interview data with residents of Tamesna and Tamansourt, I focus on the lived experience of those who have bought into these newly imagined State spaces to show how the new town ideal as envisioned by the Government is consumed in reality.

---

[41] *Ministère de l'Habitat et de la Politique de la Ville* – French acronym MHPV

Chapter Six: Residents' Expectations, Reality and Disappointments—A View from Within

> "the future prospects are not what the reality is now"
> in Darija: "*afaq mashi bhal ele kyna dba*"
> (Tamesna, 11/01-74, 2018)

Introduction

The lived experience of residents is what tells us the most about urban life in a new context, but is seldom discussed in the literature on new towns. In this chapter I utilize primary data from interviews with local new town residents, beneficiaries of public housing, residents of pre-existing *douar* (informal) communities, and informal providers of everyday services (i.e., street vendors, security guards, *treporter* drivers etc.) to understand the lived reality of the people who occupy Tamesna and Tamansourt. First, I present residents' reflections on their expectations of the new town developments, Tamesna and Tamansourt, prior to their move. Next, I consider the reactions that residents' felt relative to the reality they faced upon moving to a new urban settlement. Finally, I report the anger and frustration that residents overwhelmingly expressed towards "those responsible" (i.e., public officials) for failing to implement the King's vision and will to serve and provide for his people, especially the urban poor.

I.   Expectations, Reality, and Disappointments

The Perceived Plan. Throughout my interviews with residents of Tamesna and Tamansourt, one of the first questions I asked was "how is life for you here [in Tamesna/in Tamansourt]?". For the vast majority of interviewees, the question reopened old wounds and brought about feelings of distress, frustration and anger towards public officials ("those responsible") whose job it was to fulfill the King's vision of new

settlements with all the necessary elements of "decent" living (in Darija: "*el aysh el kareem*")[42]. In

Chapter Five, I discussed how elites' imagined visions of new urban settlements is passed on to the public

through rendered drawings and site plans presented in sales offices, housing exhibitions, and Ramadan

advertisements. When reflecting on their process of purchasing their homes and moving to Tamesna and

Tamansourt residents did indeed reference "the plan" and spoke about how they felt cheated in the

process: "they [the sales office] show you the plan, what do you find in it? a school, next to it a hammam,

then entertainment center, in reality you find nothing." Another woman explained:

> When they [sales officers] show you the plan – they tell you that here there is the hotel, schools...
>
> hammam [public bath] … you think that where you will live you will have everything around.
>
> When we came here, we didn't find anything. Not even electricity. There were no places to throw
>
> our garbage. Even if you want [to buy] milk you should go to Addoha [another housing
>
> development in Tamesna]. Lately only, we have the grocery and these shops [small convenience
>
> stores] and pharmacies… [when we first moved] after the sunset call to prayer everyone needed
>
> to be home because there was no electricity [in the streets/street lighting]. (Tamesna, 09/27-11-
>
> 16, 2018)

While the majority of Tamesna's disappointed residents were from relocated households and

beneficiaries of the Cities without Slums Program and, therefore, had little choice to begin with, a similar

situation was noted in Tamansourt where the prevalence of serviced plots and economic apartment units

meant more residents moved to Tamansourt by choice. In an interview with two college-aged sisters in

Tamansourt watching the equestrienne festival, "*taborida*", held on a large swath of vacant land, they

explained how their family came to move from Rabat to Tamansourt:

---

[42] The concept of "decent" living is mentioned in Article 31 of the 2011 Constitution which mandates the State, public establishments and territorial collectives to work on facilitating equal access for both female and male citizens to conditions that permit their right to healthcare, education, decent housing and sustainable development amongst other citizen rights. King Mohammed VI also highlighted "decent housing" as one of the four priorities of national concern in 2002 and expressed that "we can only preserve the dignity of the citizen by ensuring decent housing and accelerating the implementation of the national program fighting against unsanitary housing and slum eradication" (October 11, 2002, 7th legislature opening remarks speech in Rabat).

We came from Rabat to Tamansourt… to be honest Tamansourt was not like what they show it in the papers [documents]… when we were in Rabat, my father came to Marrakech, he got the papers [promotional brochures], they show Tamansourt is nice… you understand me… and that's how we made the decision… the first time we saw it [Tamansourt] in the pictures we thought its good…, her sister added: "we had seen pictures of children's playgrounds and everything and when we came here there are no playgrounds or anything". (Tamansourt, 03/16-264, 2019)

One serviced plot owner in Tamansourt also mentioned being constantly informed by realtors and local public officials about potential projects:

We came [to Tamansourt] and we thought it will get better… because since we came you hear them [local public officials] tell you, there will be a project here… and something is going to be built here and there and here… they say they will build a university here… and they will build a hospital… so there are [expected] projects. (Tamansourt, 03/16-264, 2019)

The Urban Expectation. In addition to what residents expected to find based on Tamesna and Tamansourt's proposed "plan", their branding as new "cities" or new "medinas" made residents hopeful that they would be moving into an "urban setting". The following response from a resident in Tamesna explains how 'the urban expectation' contributed to further disappointments.

Interviewer: what did you expect Tamesna to be?

Interviewee: A medina… but when we moved here we didn't find it a medina… it's just a rural area and they built in it houses (in Darija: *orobiya w bnw feha el dior*) there is nothing that indicates it's a medina … so if you go to the countryside and you buy an apartment you wouldn't buy it for 250,000 MAD, we bought [an apartment] for 25 million [250,000 MAD] thinking that it is a medina… as if you were buying in Casa [Casablanca]… (Tamesna, 10/20-54, 2018)

When asked why they had moved to Tamesna another resident replied: "we came because they said it was "*Medinat Tamesna*" when we came here it's a big difference, none of what we were

expecting…" (Tamesna, 10/01-23, 2018). Another interviewee from Tamansourt summed up their

expectations in the quote below:

> We were expecting something good… a new medina… like Al Omrane is advertising
>
> it/marketing it to be (in Darjia: *"ki kysawqo lha el Oumran"*) with amenities and a hospital and
>
> everything… just like when we were living in Marrakech. We thought that we were just going to
>
> change the place, like from medina to medina, not everything. But we were shocked with this
>
> reality… there is nothing… there is no place for the little kids to play… there is no hospital… if a
>
> woman wants to give birth… she needs to go all the way to Marrakech… everything… in all the
>
> aspects… there is nothing. (Tamansourt, 01/23-184, 2019)

> Comparing both Tamesna and Tamansourt to rural areas and "the countryside" (in Darija: "*el*
>
> *orobiya"*) was in large part due to the towns' lack of, or delay in provision of, basic urban services such
>
> as a reliable bus transportation system, a hospital, police presence, and youth and cultural centers,
>
> amongst others. However, the scale and vast amount of vacant land that surrounded many early housing
>
> developments also gave residents a feel of rural isolation. As one resident explained "when we came
>
> here… at the beginning… maybe now it did change a little… but when I first came here it was empty!
>
> and it was really like countryside and even more than the countryside! (in Darija: *bhal orobiya, w aktar*
>
> *mn orobiya*)" (Tamesna, 11/28-130, 2018).

Regret. Many residents mentioned regretting their move to a new town. Three main reasons for regret

came up frequently in conversations with residents: lack of urban services, subpar housing quality, and

the overwhelming number of public housing beneficiaries. The first reason residents regret moving was

due to expectations based on site plans and other promotional materials, which contrasted with the lack of

amenities, promised services, and jobs in reality. A resident in Tamesna described her family's regret

when they recognized that they were fed empty promises by developers:

> We regret [moving here]! Because they [the developers] told us that you would find *hammam*
>
> [public bath], *farran* [public oven], schools nearby, and we came and we didn't find anything…

no health services, no [women's] associations, no hospitals, there is nothing… (Tamesna, 10/03-30, 2018)

Another resident explained:

[Tamesna] It's just called a new town… if it has no transport how can people live in it? They [people] try living here then they move… I'm one of them. I moved here and I regret it… If I had a solution, I would move… (Tamesna, 10/08-35, 2018)

Similarly, a man who bought a semi-finished villa in Tamansourt explained how he regret moving from Ouarzazate[43] to Tamansourt. His main reason for moving to Tamansourt was that he had heard about the big plans for the new urban development: "I came because they said a university will be built… and a big hospital… and a lot of things…" (Tamansourt, 02/02-168, 2019). The lack of both a university and the ability to commute to Marrakech to obtain a university education was problematic for Tamansourt's youth. As one resident explained:

There are a lot of families… that came and lived here [in Tamansourt] a few days and left again… they regret… because their kids are suffering here… and the transportation is not available for them… especially those who study [higher education] in Marrakech. (Tamansourt, 01/23-185, 2019)

Former slum dwellers also regret moving in large part because the new town does not have more to offer: "the slums were good we would have stayed there… because there isn't much difference, they [officials] didn't add more things here." Another resident added: "in the slum (in Darija: baraka), we had space" (Tamesna 10/11-46 & 48, 2018).

The second reason residents regret moving to Tamesna and Tamansourt was due to the subpar quality of housing construction. In an interview with a construction worker at one of the major developers in Tamesna, he expressed his doubt about the quality of apartment buildings in Tamesna:

---

[43] A city in south-central Morocco, known as the gateway to the Sahara Desert.

I work in construction [with a local company] … I think their buildings will not last another 10

years and they will be demolished [will collapse] … since 2012 they started to control the

engineers a little… but before that there was nothing… [the structure was] only decoration and

the stairs beam is what is holding up the whole building… you saw the ones that got demolished

in Tamesna… why? Because they [contractors] were cheating… and you see how many buildings

it's like a new town… in El Tawheed (another urban settlement) there is nice buildings there… if

you buy it 250,000 MAD you buy it and you feel comfortable… 2 bedrooms, a kitchen,

bathroom, salon… at least they have space [more square footage for the same price in Tamesna].

(Tamesna, 11/22-101, 2018)

Residents expressed great frustration with the quality of construction in Tamansourt as well. One

woman who had purchased an affordable apartment in Al Saada development complained:

We regret buying here… how much money did we lose… we fixed all the pipes… they weren't

there. I wouldn't advise someone to buy a house [an apartment] here… because we regret it, we

regret it, regret it! it's like you fixed everything from the beginning… the amount it would cost

you to buy a plot and build it… you will lose that amount on an apartment… we regret it… and

now if you want to sell… what will it sell for? If someone gives you 100,000MAD its good…

(Note: this particular resident purchased a pre-owned economic apartment for 200,000MAD).

(Tamansourt, 01/29-162, 2019)

Another resident in Tamesna also regretted their purchase of an economic apartment: "to be

honest, I think we just threw away our 25 million [250,000MAD], because those apartments they don't

deserve it… honestly…we came here and we regret it (in Darija: *ndemna*)" (Tamesna 10/20-55, 2018). In

fact, one owner in Tamesna went so far as to state: "we bought death and we pay the bank for it [loan] (in

Darija: *"shrena el mot o ta nkhlso alyh el banka"*)". She went on to explain:

We tried to take our money back and leave, but they [the developer] said that they will not give us

anything back. Because they [the developer] know how the houses are. There are a lot of

[apartment] buildings [in Tamesna] but no one wants to buy in them because they [people] know

the situation here. (Tamesna, 09/27-16, 2018)

In Tamesna, residents complained that contractors had cheated in the use of materials. For example, trash and plastic waste (i.e., bags of chips and yogurt cups) were mixed in with concrete to increase its volume which in turn weakened material strength and stability of the buildings. In Tamansourt, residents complained of inefficient sanitation pipes: "under the apartments it's all water… all water… meaning they [residents] are living in danger… which means that one day the apartments will fall [collapse]." (Tamansourt, 03/07-235, 2019). Beneficiaries and lower-income households have no choice, affordability is what drove them to Tamesna and Tamansourt in the first place. As one street vendor in Tamansourt expressed: "I swear sister I regret… if I could I'd go to any other corner [place], what is pulling me towards here is the rizq [Godly sustenance] and the housing is what plays into it… (Tamansourt 03/26-278, 2019). Several residents who were housing beneficiaries also mentioned being cheated by housing developers in terms of the exact location of their apartment unit or the floor level on which they would be located.

Those who moved by choice and regret it often felt "stuck" as they had invested all their savings into economic housing or had taken advantage of government programs that enabled lower income households to obtain credit loans:

For us, we were just thinking about owning an apartment and not having to pay rent, we didn't

think about other things. But when we came here we got stuck (in Darija: *ehsilna*). If we want to

sell, there is no solution because we have the loan" (Tamesna, 09/27-16, 2018).

Similarly, another resident stated:

There are a lot of things that are missing [in Tamesna]. A person will regret coming to live here.

If it weren't for the loan and such we would not live here. I'd prefer to rent a house [elsewhere]

rather than buying here [in Tamesna]. (Tamesna, 09/27-13, 2018)

A final reason for regret was expressed mostly by middle class residents who purchased property in Tamesna and Tamansourt expecting to live in a "new" suburb so that to escape the dense cities of

Rabat and Marrakech. Middle class homeowners did not expect the populations of both new towns to be overwhelmingly low-income public housing beneficiaries. Something close to culture-shock was expressed by middle class urban dwellers forced to live with former rural (*douar* or slum) dwellers. An upper middle-class resident and business owner in Tamesna expressed: "it's hard to adapt with the mentality of people living here." (Tamesna, 10/11-50, 2018). Others enjoyed living in Tamesna but still expressed difficulty in adapting with different populations: "the medina [Tamesna] is good and everything, the weather… but there is mentality of people here is backwards" (Tamesna, 10/20-54 & 55, 2018). In Tamansourt, a resident complained:

> People are not clean… like these things you see here… there are some things… the kids write on the walls… a lot of things I don't like… like the gardens here…. and even the people are not clean… and people you talk to are not civilized… you can't get along with them… each one and their mentality… and how they are raised… they came from the countryside… they have countryside mentality. (Tamansourt, 01/29-160, 2019)

For Tamansourt to develop, one middle-class resident suggested "people just need to change their mentality" (Tamansourt 03/16-264, 2019).

The informal markets and lack of policing to ensure a safe and clean, well-organized urban environment frustrated those upper-class residents who had expected to live in a 'modern' suburb. A property owner in Tamesna who had invested in an apartment while working in a Gulf country explained: "I was working in Abu Dhabi… when I came I found the chaos (in Darija: *fawdha*) here [in Tamesna's informal market]". When explaining what he expected of Tamesna he said:

> That this *jotiya* [flee market] wouldn't be here… this informal souk… there is a weekly souk in Sidi Yahya [neighboring commune]… but this one is daily… until one o'clock in the morning, and you are sitting [in your apartment] with your mother and you hear very bad talk… and there are kids that have school at 8:00am in the morning, but the sellers are still here until 1:00am, playing music… and they use bad language… (Tamesna, 10/26-62, 2018).

Another reason for expressed incompatibility amongst residents was because the new towns were acting as melting-pots in which people from all over the country came to settle. In Tamesna a resident explained: "because each person has their own mentality, it's not like they all came from the same place, everyone came from a different place/direction… with different culture… and the way they were raised, it's not the same…" (Tamesna, 11/01-74, 2018). One middle-class resident also explained how living in Tamesna has changed her family's priorities "even our style in clothes changed here because we don't care anymore what we wear" (Tamesna, 10/01-23, 2018). Relative to social-mixing she went on to explain that:

> At the beginning we had problems because my daughters had just come from the City [Rabat] so they wear t-shirts or sleeveless shirts, they get assaulted by boys here or they tell them something bad… but now they [Tamesna's residents] got used to it, because they moved from slums to these apartments next to us so they mixed with us… we are not facing that problem anymore. (ibid)

Blame. "Those responsible". I heard this phrase in almost every interview with locals in Tamesna and Tamansourt regardless of whether they were beneficiaries of social housing, buyers of economic housing, or even upper-class market rate homeowners. The Moroccan phrase "*el msouleen*" which is literally translated from the French phrase "*les responsibles*", meaning "those responsible" [i.e., the bureaucrats/officeholders] was widely used by interviewees when discussing their disappointment. Who *They* are exactly and what *Their* actual responsibilities are relative to the planning, implementation, and management of Tamesna and Tamansourt is complicated. In many cases, people referred to Al Omrane as *The* responsible body for everything to do with Tamesna and Tamansourt, even relative to the provision of public services such as mosques, schools, waste management and street lighting. Traditional public baths [*hammams*] and public ovens [*farrans*] were also thought of as *Their* responsibility, when in fact those public services are privately owned and run even when the building structure was publicly funded. In addition to the classic vague reference to *"el msouleen"*, others refer to "those responsible" as *el dwla* [the State], *el sultat* [the Executives], or *el makhzn* [the Government]. In all cases, "those responsible" are

not those in the highest position of power. They are not the King, the Prime Minister, the Wali (governor), or any other senior public official. Those responsible, it seems, are the public and administrative officials, the civil servants, who were delegated the task of implementing national housing, urbanization, and resettlement policies. As one resident in Tamesna mentioned: "there are those responsible [given responsibility] for the medina, they should do reasonable management" (Tamesna, 11/15-89, 2018).

In general, when asking residents when they think Tamesna and Tamansourt will develop to the standard they expect them to, the majority respond that the development of the new towns is "in the hands of those responsible, if they want to do something they will do it" (Tamesna, 11/28-134, 2018), "the big responsible actors are the ones who need to say… if they say let's activate it [the new town], it will move [forward], if they want it to, they will" (Tamesna, 11/14-83, 2018). When asked whether he would call Tamesna a "*medina*", one resident responded:

> I cannot say… or you cannot say… people who live here can't say… only those responsible can
>
> say… does it follow their plans or it doesn't? We can talk, we can do publicity… but those who
>
> are given the responsibility of building the town…If only they knew how to clean it and maintain
>
> it… the weather here is good… doctors recommend living in Tamesna for those with health and
>
> breathing issues… you know those who have trouble breathing the doctor prescribes them to live
>
> in Tamesna… it's a nice city but… may God guide them [those responsible] (in Darija: *Allah*
>
> *yhdehom*)… (Tamesna 10/27-62, 2018)

One angry civic leader in Tamesna blamed Al Omrane for only focusing on housing:

> …those responsible for Tamesna, and I blame Al Omrane because they are the first ones
>
> responsible… instead of just looking at buildings and buildings and buildings… they should take
>
> care of the things that they didn't open yet to promote the medina… because it's good for them
>
> too to promote the medina… (Tamesna 11/18-92, 2018)

Another resident in Tamansourt used the phrase "those who built it, killed it" when describing the lack of commitment to the new town project on behalf of "those responsible" (in Darija the phrase: *qtloha*

mwleha) (Tamansourt, 02/02-168, 2019). Without "*their*" commitment, many did not believe the new

towns have a future:

> Tamesna… if buses and taxis don't come in and those responsible didn't talk [i.e., pay attention
>
> to the situation], it's never going to become a medina… how many people would tell you I want
>
> to leave, I don't want to stay in Tamesna I want to sell… a lot of people bought and want to
>
> sell… they just bought and stayed one or two months and they want to sell… (Tamesna, 11/14-
>
> 80, 2018)

Even in Tamansourt, residents agreed that housing is what is available and that "those responsible" need

to shift their focus on service provision:

> It's been 12 years and this is what it is… if the police enter… it will get better… now the
>
> population here [in Tamansourt] is high… in terms of housing, everyone is living, what it needs
>
> now is public amenities… a hospital… and adding big markets… this is what it needs…. It needs
>
> those responsible to work on it… that's what it needs… for example we need big stores to open
>
> here like Marjane and Asswak Assalam [grocery chains] … its necessary… a hospital and if the
>
> police enter Tamansourt will be good… (Tamansourt, 03/07-235, 2019)

II. **Distress, Suffering, Discontent and the Lack of Trust in Those Responsible**

(in Darija: *kn'ani, mkrfsen, mhloukin, mqhorin, m'dben*)

The word "suffer" was perhaps the most used verb to describe the everyday situations new town

residents experienced and the hardships they have had to endure since they first moved to Tamesna and

Tamansourt. As mentioned previously, many families moved into their apartments even before they were

connected to electricity. In Tamesna, one middle class resident who moved into an economic housing

complex in Al Hiba development in 2013 mentioned: "when I moved in the apartment… there was no

electricity… we used to use flashlights" (Tamesna, 11/28-128, 2018). Similarly, in Tamansourt, one

resident who moved into the city in 2014 criticized the new town's progress since they first moved:

> It's [Tamansourt is] still very behind... there is no place to go out, no place to go…. it just got a little better… when we moved here there was nothing just one small convenience store (in Darija: *hanout)*... when we moved here, there was just one man over there (points) that we buy from… now it's getting better… when we came here there was no electricity… we are 6 families… us and apartments #9 and #11… they also came from the [military] base… we went and complained… they said they will not provide electricity for 6 or 7 people… we stayed a long time without lighting… we kept complaining and complaining until they provided us with electricity. (Tamansourt, 02/02-172, 2019)

Waste management was also an issue at the beginning, whereas public street lighting continued to be an issue even at the time of my research (2019). During an evening interview with a Tamesna resident of four years, as the sun set she pointed out "now it's dark… see the lights they are not on yet". She continued to explain how

> …they [those responsible/local officials] are not taking care of us… and we don't even have a place to put our trash… we have only that one and we had to complain a lot before getting it… when they put it, it was like they put a treasure box for us. At the beginning I was taking my trash with me all the way to Rabat because there were no trash cans in the whole of Tamesna… I won't lie to you… people were suffering a lot in the beginning… but we say *el HamdAllah* [thanks to Allah] … this is how poor people live. (Tamesna, 10/29-69, 2018)

While jobs were lacking in both new towns, transportation was perhaps the main reason residents in both new towns "suffered". Without transportation residents struggled to reach the regional hospitals, ensure their children study at universities, maintain jobs in the neighboring cities, and take their children out for recreation. Many even feared leaving the new towns and not finding a ride back: "the people are just suffering… it needs transportation… if you stayed in Marrakech until 6pm, I swear you will not come back [to Tamansourt]" (Tamansourt 02/02-173, 2019).

An angry Tamesna resident expressed:

We are just fighting with time… suffering this is Tamesna… you hear Tamesna! And you think Tamesna is good… and you see the publicity! If they put me in charge of the publicity you will see what I would say. (Tamesna, 10/11-47, 2018)

The youth do not have a place to go for recreation, which many believe has led to other social and ethical issues such as drugs and domestic abuse. A woman in Tamansourt explained:

[the] youth don't have a place to go… only they can play football [soccer]... they don't have youth clubs… cultural centers… no libraries… kids are suffering here… for women it's not a big problem… they get busy with their kids and their houses... or you work and you come to your house only to rest… but the youth, they want something to do… they only go to play football [soccer] that's all… and where do they play? In the streets… you see how the streets are, they hurt… and if they need to do something [join private clubs] here they need 100MAD a month… there are those who can't afford it… they are just fighting to pay for their homes [loans]. (Tamansourt, 01/23-185, 2019)

When asked whether they would recommend others to move to Tamesna or Tamansourt, the consensus seems to be that: "if they have money, they can come" if not "they will suffer" (Tamesna, 09/25-10, 2018). The affordability factor is what drove many people to these new towns in the first place:

…because there is no alternative… because if you want to buy in Témara or Rabat you cannot afford it… so what can you do… you will buy here [in Tamesna] … even if people are suffering from transportation and a lot of things… but they are living. (Tamesna, 11/28-130, 2018)

In Tamansourt, several residents described the new town as "a medina for the poor" (Tamansourt, 02/02-170, 2019), "a simple town, it's for the poor" (Tamansourt, 03/09-241, 2019), yet many agreed that the poor were clearly the ones who are suffering the most. As one resident in Tamesna put it, "the modest [poor] are the ones suffering (in Darija: *elbset m'adb*)" (Tamesna, 10/09-38, 2018).

In Tamansourt, residents were even struggling to find affordable transportation within the new town's parameters:

We are suffering a lot a lot a lot! (in Darija*: mkrfseen bzaf bzaf bzaf*) the *hammam*! which is a

necessity… it's not available… you need to get a treporter for 10MAD and the *hammam* costs

12MAD and you need to come back by treporter 10MAD again (laughs)… it's a problem… now

I have the water boiler and everything…but in the cold weather I can't bathe at home… I always

need to go to the *hammam*… and to go to the *hammam* I find it a problem… For us we are asking

only for the necessities… and a public oven! It's not available... if you have an oven at home, you

bake bread… if you don't… you go and buy bread… from the bakeries. (Tamansourt, 01/29-162,

2019)

In summing up the living and working situation in Tamesna, one shopkeeper indicated "you can

barely get a balance (in Darija: *yla tjeb el mezan*)". That is, what you make working in the new town is

spent on obtaining necessities within it (Tamesna, 10/03-27, 2018).

In both new towns, residents use a portmanteau of the new town's name and a verb meaning to

"suffer" when referring to the settlement. In Tamesna, the word "*mehna*" which means a distressful

situation, or a struggle, is added to the town's name to make a hybrid of Tamesna and its struggles:

"*Tamehna*". Upon asking about Tamesna, one resident corrected us: "*Tamehna*, not Tamesna" (Tamesna,

09/28-21, 2018). Similarly, in Tamansourt, the Arabic word "*maqhour*" which is used to describe a

person in distress is added: "*Tamaqhourt*… people are suffering in it… (in Darija*: bani adam maqhour

feha*)" (Tamansourt, 02/21-209, 2019). On several occasions, we even overheard children using the

portmanteaus, *Tamehna* and *Tamaqhourt*.

Residents are not the only ones suffering: "there is no safety…. there are no police officers only

Gendarmerie (rural law enforcement officers) … and the Gendarmerie are suffering [facing hardship] (in

Darija*: tqahrw*)*"* (Tamesna, 10/11-46, 2018). In an interview with a Gendarmerie officer, he explained

how police presence is necessary: "Tamesna needs police… we can't employ 120 Gendarmerie officers

it's too large of a number… we only work with about 12 or so officers [for a rural area] … but the police

they work 120 officers in a city." (Tamesna, 12/06-142, 2018). At the time of this research (2018) the

Gendarmerie's control office had only recently added floating Gendarmerie officers to help patrol Tamesna at night. With Tamesna's population reaching over 40,000 in 2018 twelve Gendarmerie officers is not an adequate number to police the whole city (Tamesna, 10/01-22, 2018). As of 2019, Tamansourt had a population of approximately 70,000 residents (Tamansourt, 3/26-274, 2019).

In addition to unsatisfied and struggling residents in Tamansourt, the original settlers and landowners of both Douar El Harmel and Douar Ait Ali who had sacrificed their land and farms in the name of development expressed anger: "others are benefiting… those other people who came and bought here in Tamansourt are the ones who benefited but the original dwellers didn't benefit anything… they are still suffering" (Tamansourt, 01/26-152, 2019). In Douar El Harmel, one resident explained how his life was better before:

> I was working in agriculture… I used to plant cilantro and parsley without any suffering or anything… but they [Al Omrane] came and they squeezed us, and they took our land (i.e., pressured us). If only they had killed us and let us rest (in Darija: *ekon ghyr qtlona o hnona*).
> (Tamansourt, 02/28-225, 2019)

Original landowners from Douar El Harmel in Tamansourt also complained how market priority led the authorities to position their compensation plots at the outskirts of the new town when in reality their *douar* was in a central location. Those who remain in Douar El Harmel want

> …sufficient compensation like I told you" and "to be compensated in the same place… not like the others they created a fence with them (in Darija: *zrbu behom*) … this is Tamansourt (shows a circle with his hand) and the compensated ones are around the edge… if I am the son of this land why do you want to fence the medina with me? (in Darija: *ana wld elblad alaysh baghi tzareb beya lmdena?*) and bring the ones who have money, and you give them the good location.
> (Tamansourt, 02/28-224, 2019)

When asking people about their thoughts on the national new town initiative and on the process of fulfilling the national vision to create fifteen new towns throughout Morocco, there was a clear disapproval of Al Omrane as the entity responsible for the whole housing and resettlement process. Most

interviewees I spoke with clearly had lost trust in Al Omrane: "They [Al Omrane] find empty state land and do with it what they [Al Omrane] like" (Tamesna, 09/24-5, 2018). In describing why she felt Tamesna was a failure, one resident and local activist explained:

> For me as a new town it failed (in Darija: *fshla*) … the biggest problem is our kids are growing up to see means of transportation that are backwards [treporter] and even we didn't grow up seeing them… from before civilization (in Darija*: asr el jahliya*). In Rabat you see taxis buses, new Dacia [a car manufactured by Renault] taxis but for our kids [in Tamesna] they have *treporter* as a taxi. We are coming from a medina [Rabat] and they [those responsible] took us backwards, we came to the *medina* [Tamesna], they [those responsible] promised us that we will find everything, but our kids didn't benefit from anything – it is like we are living in a hotel of [called] Tamesna, we sleep in it and we go back to work. (Tamesna, 11/18-91, 2018)

A Disrupted Chain of Command. While many have complained about the State initiated program, interviews with residents clearly signaled their belief in a disrupted chain of command. People praise the King and his efforts to provide for the poor, but often mention the failure of "those responsible" to execute his commands due to corruption and self-interest: "our king, (in Darija: *seedna*) gave us economic housing for poor people and now we are living here suffering (in Darija: *mkrfseen*)" (Tamesna, 11/15-88, 2018). Another interviewee stated: *"Our King may Allah [God] grant him victory, (in Darija: sidna Allah yansro)* but... he doesn't have people who can help him and make things better. Our king is working and doing a good job but there is corruption" (Tamesna, 09/24-2, 2018).

Pointing towards corruption, some public housing beneficiaries reported "in the beginning they ["those responsible"] promised us 60m^2 [apartment units] … during the King's ribbon cutting it was 60m^2, then they reduced 10m^2, we don't know why they reduced them by 10m^2" (Tamesna, 10/27-61, 2018). Another interviewee explained how they believe the King's plans were altered such that "those responsible" benefit:

The name of Tamesna [the project] was Nour Zaer… then when Tamansourt came out [i.e., the VNP was announced], they named it Tamesna… the King gave it as plots not apartments… but those corrupt officials (in Darija: *el masouleen el shfara eli kynin*) … they got together like associations and they gave Ain Aouda (another small city in the outskirts of Rabat) serviced plots and then they changed Tamesna to apartments with its name… they thought about putting more people in one place, so it's better than plots… one building would have 20 families. (Tamesna, 11/22-101, 2018)

Many interviewees tried to shed light on how the New Towns Program, especially Tamesna, was not following the King's commands. In describing Tamesna's progress, one resident said:

I only see it getting more populated… people increase and the damage increases (in Darija: *el nas ttzad wl khrb yzd*) … look (pointing at the informal market), do you call this a prototype new town for the King? Huh? (in Darija: *medina namothajiya llmalek?*). (Tamesna, 10/27-62, 2018)

In Tamesna, at the time of this research the grand mosque which is promoted as the second largest mosque in Morocco after Hassan II Mosque in Casablanca, was completed, but remained closed. Many residents complained that they have this large facility, but have been praying outside during Ramadhan and Eid:

In Ramadhan we want to pray *tarawih* [Ramadhan ritual prayer usually performed after *Isha* prayer] and we don't have a mosque… there is no mosque… they only put up a tent for prayer and one day it was windy and it [the wind] removed it all… the people only prayed *Maghreb* they didn't even pray *Isha*… they didn't pray [*tarawih*] or anything… the first thing you should have is the mosque… this mosque will need another 4 years or more… and that is if they open it. (Tamesna, 10/29-69, 2018).

Others were adamant "until the King comes then they will open it" and that "if the King comes, he will do something, when he comes he will transfer Tamesna to a Province" (Tamesna, 10/21-56, 2018) and "the police will come in" (Tamesna, 10/21-58, 2018).

Why the mosque was not yet open was unknown—even by Al Omrane officials. Many used the local phrase "it's a blind pomegranate" (in Darija: *rumana mghmda*) meaning "it's a mystery". One interviewee mentioned that some were told "the minaret is not facing towards the *Qibla* (laughs hysterically) as if the engineer was drunk (laughs) how! Honestly, they are lying to people (laughs)" (Tamesna, 10/29-69, 2018).

Rumors about the King having visited both new towns were also prevalent in the interviewee responses. In Tamesna it is believed that:

> The King came and went into the mosque and I don't know what he didn't like, he saw that the roads were not fixed and everything… so it seems like he came at the wrong time [unexpectedly]… so he told them to stop everything… what can I tell you… they [those responsible] don't fix anything… he [the King] wants to find something good… he didn't like the mosque so he refused the whole thing… honestly they [those responsible] don't do their jobs right… he [the King] gives his order for them to build the best mosque… because this is supposed to be the second largest mosque… like Hassan II this one is Mohammed VI, but there is nothing. (Tamesna, 10/29-69, 2018)

One interviewee mentioned:

> I mean it [Tamesna] is a failure… the King didn't want to come… he came at night, they fixed everything and cleaned you can't imagine how they made it… you wouldn't recognize it… the streets were washed… and everything… why aren't we always like that? why? He came at night… and he didn't like a lot of things… the things that that he told them [those responsible] to fix they didn't fix it… now it [Tamesna] is frowned upon (in Darija*: maghdoub ealyha*) … we will see what he [the King] will do. (Tamesna, 10/11-50, 2018)

Relative to why Tamesna's mosque was still closed, one resident explained "the King was coming to inaugurate the mosque, but he found a problem. Since then, it remained closed." (Tamesna, 11/11-79, 2018). Others believed the King had not yet visited Tamesna because—if he had—then things would not be as they were: "when they [those responsible] know that *Sedna* [our King] is coming

everything will open and everything will be fixed" (Tamesna, 11/18-91, 2018). An angry resident in Tamansourt also expressed the importance of sharing the reality with the King:

> If I see the King passing by… I will stop him and tell him everything… I will tell him to come and see Tamansourt…. Because in his speech he said I want Tamansourt to become a new town… I don't know if those responsible *[el masouleen]* took the money in their pockets and left the people the bang their heads against the wall (expression) (Tamansourt, 01/29-162, 2019).

Conclusion

While residents expressed anger, disappointment, and frustration due to unmet promises and high expectations passed on to them by "those responsible", the distress and suffering especially amongst the lower income residents whose livelihoods depend on public infrastructures is indeed a sign of failed planning. The right to "decent housing" along with employment help, access to education, healthcare, and [durable] development, among other services, as highlighted in the 2011 Constitution is a responsibility of "the State, public establishments and the territorial collectives [i.e., communes]" (Article 31, 2011). Residents were rightfully entitled to blame "those responsible" and express a lack of trust in the personnel charged with implementing a national idealistic vision that was promoted as a panacea to the persisting urban challenges that plague the Moroccan city (i.e., insufficient housing, informal settlements and rapid urbanization). While this chapter has disproportionately highlighted the negative and deficient aspects of Tamesna and Tamansourt, many residents had hope for their future development and were actively making suggestions based on their personal experiences and immediate needs. The policy chapter of this dissertation incorporates recommendations drawn directly from the lived experiences of residents. In the following chapter (Chapter Seven), I step away from the experiences of elite professionals (Chapter Five) and residents (Chapter Six) that were communicated through personal interviews and instead rely on my own observations and lived experience as a participant observer to describe the spatial and material reality of the newly constructed towns from the point of view of an outsider.

Chapter Seven: Material Space, Spatial Practices and Adaptations in Tamesna and Tamansourt—An Ethnographic Approach

The first time I ever travelled to Morocco was in the summer of 2015 with my doctoral advisor Ellen Bassett. Though our visit was primarily focused on establishing connections for a study abroad program, we found some time to visit new town Tamesna. The ambitious New Towns Program had caught our attention, and a visit to Tamesna would give us a sense of the Program's progress and built reality. Arriving at Tamesna for the first time, it seemed as though we were driving towards an island of clustered white buildings. (See Figure 7-1). At a first glance, Tamesna is not very different from Le Corbusier's 1920s conceptualization of *La Cité Radieuse* (Radient City) for Marseille. Quite the contrary to our experience arriving at the old walls of Rabat's medina, we now drove towards a metropolis, a mass-produced city of the future. Tens of repetitive new, white, sterile structures and hundreds of windows looking out to the vast open desert sat in the middle of what seemed like nowhere. A mosque minaret stood tall marking the new city's center. (See Figure 7-2). Construction cranes were scatted next to more and more emergent buildings. Indeed, it felt like we had arrived at a *Ville Nouvelle*. Everything was new.

Introduction

In the fifteen years since the inauguration of the New Towns Program, over 100,000 people have occupied Tamesna and Tamansourt collectively. *What do Tamesna and Tamansourt look like today and how have their residents adapted to living in an entirely new built environment?* In this chapter I examine the ways in which space in Tamesna and Tamansourt is produced, claimed, occupied, and appropriated by different objects, activities, and residents. The main goal of this chapter is to show the reader how space in Tamesna and Tamansourt is utilized and how it has been altered to fit community needs. The chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, I describe how people have adapted spatially and physically to a newly, massed-produced built environment. I present a series of photographs taken in the

field that show how different spaces in Tamesna and Tamansourt are utilized reflecting different values and unique ways of urban living in the Moroccan context. I analyze a series of objects that make Tamesna and Tamansourt the places they are today, both because of design, policy, and state visions and because of the resident's everyday needs and ways of life. In the second section, I describe how people have adapted to the lack of, or delay in, provision of everyday urban services. The second section showcases how residents have survived the disappointments highlighted in Chapter Six, through personal and collective adaptations and the emergence of an effective informal economy. Findings and analyses from this chapter inform my theoretical conclusions presented in Chapter Eight. One key finding, relative to informal adaptations in the new towns, is that the informality that exists in the new towns is not only a mode of survival and a reaction to the failures of planning, but also a "way of life" in the Moroccan city/urbanity (AlSayyad, 2004; Roy, 2005).

In this chapter, I utilize primary data collected through the participant observation method. This first-hand data was perhaps the most significant component for understanding *how* and *what* spaces are utilized and adapted in the new town. Additionally, utilizing Lefebvre's spatial triad as an analytical framework allowed me to view the material space from different angles, such that my perception and analysis of the material space includes an integrated understanding of external factors that influenced the production of space in a Moroccan new town (e.g., bureaucratic, organizational, political, civic, societal, customary and behavioral). As I observed and documented *how* the space was utilized and *what* objects significantly contributed to its production, I made note of the many "*why*" questions that came to mind. Although purely observational data (images, windshield and walking surveys) helped answer the "*how*" and "*what*" questions, I rely heavily on my field notes, resident interviews, and everyday casual conversations with my two Moroccan translators/field interpreters[44] to explain the "*why*". *Why do*

---

[44] My field interpreters where two young Moroccan sisters of Berber origin. They spoke and translated swiftly between Darija, French, Berber and Arabic. They are from a small city about 120km northeast of Rabat. They did not have their own mode of transportation, and public transportation to and from Tamesna and Tamansourt was clearly inefficient. For safety, economic and efficiency reasons the best option was for them to reside with me in my rental apartment in Tamesna and townhome (attached villa) in Tamansourt. This situation came in handy for spontaneous and last-minute changes to planned interviews. It also became a rich cultural exchange experience and sincere friendship.

residents install bars on their windows? Why are some housing complexes better maintained than others? Why are there informal settlements in and around Tamesna and Tamansourt? These questions and many others are answered in this chapter.

Figure 7-1. Arriving at Tamesna for the first time in the Summer of 2015. Photographs by author, June 8, 2015.

Figure 7-2. View of Tamesna taken from the roof top of a neighboring urban development (Annour). Photograph by author, November 24, 2018.

I. Spatial Adaptations of Space

Public Amenities. Driving into Tamesna and Tamansourt and other contemporary housing developments in Morocco during my field visits (2015-2019), the first service building I noticed were the mosques. Even when many schools and clinic buildings were still under construction, there always seemed to be adequately spaced-out mosques, which generally appeared to be complete. In many new

developments I visited, the mosque was the landmark that could be seen from a distance. (See Figure

7-3). In Tamesna, the second largest mosque in Morocco stood tall across the street from the large public

park with its reflection projecting on the park ponds. (See Figure 7-4). However, neither the grand

mosque, nor the public park, were open to the public at the time of my fieldwork (2018). From a distance

the number of mosques scattered around seemed plentiful, however, interviews with residents revealed an

interesting paradox. Many residents complained of a lack of sufficient neighborhood mosques. In

Tamansourt in some housing complexes and neighborhoods where mosques were not yet built,

incomplete or too far away to get to on foot for sunrise prayer, temporary mosque structures were built by

religious donors (known in Darija as *muhsneen*). (SeeFigure 7-6). According to a resident and worshiper

at one informal mosque in Tamansourt, neighborhood mosques gave men, who are normally busy

working outside of the new town, an opportunity to meet and interact with their neighbors (Tamansourt,

02/20-208, 2019). Local authorities provide only "verbal" approval for temporary mosques to be built

because there is "no alternative", as one imam[45] and faqih[46] at an informal mosque in Tamansourt

explained (Tamansourt, 02/20-208, 2019). When and whether those temporary mosques must be removed

was not yet clear, especially since no formal paperwork documented and approved their temporary

existence. Informal mosques make it difficult for the Moroccan government to monitor their religious and

political activity and can therefore pose a threat to national security if radical Islam and Jihadist thought is

preached in them. This aspect might become problematic especially since the Moroccan government has

initiated several counterterrorism initiatives in the wake of the Casablanca terrorist attacks on May 16,

2003[47].

      Other public amenities, such as youth clubs, sport terrains and cultural centers, were newly built

and seemed to be either not operating yet or extremely well-maintained if they were operating. (See

---

[45] Muslim mosque worship leader
[46] Expert in Islamic law studies
[47] see (Alonso & García Rey, 2007) for more on "The Evolution of Jihadist Terrorism in Morocco" and State initiatives to combat radical Islamist terrorism.

Figure 7-5 & Figure 7-7). In Tamesna, the newly built youth club, market building, and cultural center were the result of the 2014 Recovery Plan in which the Ministry of Housing sought to reactivate the new town by introducing a budget of 53million MAD and allowing Al Omrane to take over the construction of several lagging public services. Some amenities in Tamesna felt isolated. For example, the larger public sports complex located adjacent to a single family detached housing compound (locally known as "villa") caters to higher income brackets almost giving the public facility a private club feel. (See Figure 7-5). Local sports facilities are known as "nearby sports courts" or in French "*terrains de proximité*". When referring to the facility pictured in Figure 7-5, locals in Tamesna jokingly called them "faraway sports courts".

Parks and playground amenities were close to non-existent in Tamesna at the time my fieldwork. As of mid-2019, the main public park was still not open to the public and there was no clear reasoning behind its delay. The only space for children to play is the neighboring forest, where kids collect acorns and swing on rope swings hanging from trees. In the empty spaces around mosques, entertainment vendors set up their electric toy cars, trampolines, and manual swing carousel, charging 5-10 MAD per half hour (approx. 50 cents-$1). Other than the neighboring forest, residents had no place to take their children for recreation. Many took them for walks along the informal market as a substitute.

In Tamansourt, there are two public recreation facilities: Al Omrane Park and Al Yasmeen Park. Other small parklets were meant to be distributed in front of villas aligning the national route. But at th time of my visits, only remnants of some playground toys were there. Al Omrane Park and playground was poorly maintained and definitely did not provide enough to serve and entertain the growing population. Al Yasmeen Park is a linear park located at the center of Tamansourt's first housing development. It has two mini fenced-in soccer pitches that were highly utilized during my time in Tamansourt, but no playground for younger children. Instead, the linear park accommodates vendors, food carts, seating for cafés across the street, and has a series of rope swings tied onto trees throughout the park. Residents with younger children relied on the informal entertainment, such as electric toy cars and a manual swing carousel for occasional amusement.

During my longer time in the field, schools were widely available in Tamesna and Tamansourt and, in fact, even catered to surrounding informal (*douar*) settlements. Civic organizations in Tamansourt organized school bus services to bring residents of Harbeel Commune's *douars* to attend schools in Tamansourt. Residents in Tamesna's Douar Sodea also mentioned that Tamesna brought schools closer to them (Tamesna, 11/29-135, 2018). While schools catering to surrounding settlements is positive, residents in Tamesna complained that elementary school classrooms were overcrowded and that some schools have had to teach two sessions, one in the mornings and one in the afternoons, to solve the issue of overcrowded classrooms (Tamesna, 09/27-13 & 09/28-21, 2018, Tamansourt, 02/16-192, 2019). In Morocco, it is common for rural area schools to teach two sessions, but not in urban area schools (Tamansourt 03/09-241, 2019). Since both Tamesna and Tamansourt's schools taught morning and afternoon sessions, this further convinced residents that the new towns were still rural in character. (See Chapter Eight for more on residents' views on what constitutes a new town/ "*medina jadeda*").

Though widely available, the location of schools was not always convenient for affordable housing residents who lived in apartment buildings within Tamesna and Tamansourt. Several school buildings in both Tamesna and Tamansourt were located either by the single family (villa) developments or in areas not yet completely built out. The idea of placing schools by single family developments was clearly a marketing strategy that resulted in socio-spatial inequality. Realtors marketing single family villas often point to fact that 'there is a school is nearby'. In my interviews with affordable housing residents and public housing beneficiaries, many complained that they had to walk their children to and from school out of fear for their safety. Vacant lots were the most cited spaces that residents identified as unsafe. Students, especially high school girls, walking to and from school in the dark were subject to the common crime of "*grisage*" (meaning robbery at knife point) (Tamansourt, 02/02-171 & 02/28-220, 2019). A unique aspect to Tamansourt was the number of private schools dispersed in the new town. Private schools clearly catered to villa and serviced plot residents and since Tamansourt had many single-

family villas and serviced plots, private schools made it more of a suburb for professionals and middle-

class families working in Marrakech.

Figure 7-3. Mosque minarets as landmarks of new urban developments. Top left image of Tamesna June 2, 2016. Top right image of Al Firdaous development June 3, 2016. Bottom left image of Annour development by Tamesna, November 24, 2018. Bottom right image of Tamansourt February 7, 2019. Photographs by author.

Figure 7-4. Tamesna's 13-hectare public park and grand mosque. Photographs by author, November, 1 2018.

Figure 7-6. Images of three informal mosques built in Tamansourt. Photographs by author, 2019.

Figure 7-5. Left: The city's sport facility in Tamesna; *"Terrains de proximité"*. Right: The public sport terrains in proximity to a single-family development at the far edge of Tamesna, shown in at the far right of this image. Photographs by author, October 26, 2018.

Figure 7-7. Tamesna's Market Building (top), Cultural Center (center), and Youth Club (bottom). Photographs by author, October 9, 2018.

Public right-of-way: boulevards, streets, green spaces, and sidewalks. The ways in which people

utilized and repurposed empty public spaces in Tamesna and Tamansourt were perhaps the most defining

aspect of the new towns' character. I spent much of my time documenting how the public right-of-way

was consumed by business owners, street vendors, and residents. The manner in which people in Tamesna

and Tamansourt have repurposed public spaces can tell us a lot about how contemporary new town

residents co-organize the built environment and transform the State's vision into meaningful spaces for

belonging and service provision. (See Mazzuco, 2016 for literature review on the urban commons framework).

Though certainly not unique to Tamesna and Tamansourt, most sidewalks along commercial streets were used by business owners to display merchandise. The classic example is of a convenience store displaying cylinder gas tanks, on the edge of the sidewalk. According to a vice president of Harbeel Commune, businesses in Tamansourt can rent the space directly in front of their shops from the commune to display some of their merchandise or to set out tables and chairs for café and restaurant customers.

Encroachments on the sidewalk are typical in other Moroccan cities as well. However, because sidewalks and streets are overly-wide in cities that have not yet been densely occupied has allowed businesses and informal vendors to expand beyond their limits. In Tamansourt, for example, cafes have set up seating in the linear park across the street. Similarly, carpet cleaners display their carpet drying rack along-side the linear park's sidewalk. The overly-wide sidewalks on either side of Tamansourt's central commercial boulevard have allowed some full-scale informal businesses to operate on the sidewalks unnoticed. (See Figure 7-8 left image). Such businesses set up on the sidewalk as though operating from an empty commercial store. Their awning structures alongside operating businesses allow them to blend in as formal businesses.

The wide vehicular streets have additional space for formal and informal businesses to set up, while still allowing space for occasional cars, 3-wheeled treporter motors, motorcycles, and people to walk. In Tamesna, informal street vendors have even claimed space on the commercial street by painting their names in a self-determined boundary on the vehicular street. (See Figure 7-8 right image).

In both new towns, Al Omrane has designated a formal central market building, but disagreements and organizational setbacks have delayed their openings. Therefore, at the time of my research, the new towns were functioning more like rural areas in terms of resident access to everyday food and household needs. In rural areas where there are no organized market structures, weekly markets known as "souks" are set up by mobile vendors who bring fruits, vegetables, live chickens, cleaning and household supplies from surrounding farms and urban areas, while also providing services such as

barbers, tailors and shoe cobblers. The lack of an organized market structure coupled with vast empty

public spaces and wide sidewalks in Tamesna and Tamansourt provide the ideal setting for temporary

mobile vendors from surrounding rural areas to earn a living, while providing an immature urban area

with much needed everyday goods and services. Unlike weekly souks, smaller scale informal local

markets, commonly known as "*souika*[48]", serve smaller urban areas daily. Section two of this chapter will

go into more details in regard to the informal markets operating in Tamesna and Tamansourt to provide

everyday goods and services.

In addition to the everyday market, street vendors were found operating in areas that needed them

occasionally. For example, on Fridays the open space around central mosques was filled vendors selling

fruits and *laban*, a fresh yogurt drink typically served with the Moroccan traditional Friday dish couscous.

Men leaving the mosque after *dhuor* (noon) prayer would buy fruits and *laban* before they visited family

for the weekly family meal. Vendors selling hard boiled eggs, chips and confectionary items were found

on the sidewalk by the "grand taxi" station. Taxi drivers and travelers at the station were either arriving or

leaving the town because "grand taxis" serve intercity travelers. Small snack vendors also set up by the

technical colleges (ISTA - Institut Spécialisé de Technologie Appliquée) where students 'hang-out'

during breaks. Other vendors set up their camp stoves and pressure pots by construction sites to provide

hot cooked meals for construction workers. Empty parking lots and shared green spaces, especially those

in and around apartment compounds, were used to store vendor carts. Street vendors often pay a night

guard to watch their produce tents, sewing or popcorn machines overnight. They also hire a street cleaner

to clean around their space before and after market activity. Finally, wide boulevards and streets in both

new towns were produced by a clear and legible site plan making them the perfect tracks for running

marathons. At the time of my fieldwork, I attended two marathon events, one in each of the studied new

towns.

---

[48] *"Souika"* is a diminutive for the word "souk", hence meaning a smaller version of an outdoor marketplace.

The design of both Tamesna and Tamansourt intentionally provided pedestrian walkways. In Tamesna, the symmetrical oval design is offset with streets and pedestrian sidewalks on the outer edge of apartment complexes. This pedestrian walkway loop cannot be accessed directly from apartment buildings, rather it can only be seen from windows. However, some residents living in ground floor apartments have created door openings onto the walkway, still it was rarely used as it does not lead into any service destinations and does not have a view of any activity. Instead, the pathway in Tamesna is merely a pedestrian loop parallel to vehicular traffic. The walking path in Tamesna is lined with concrete street benches and trash containers. Unfortunately, many of the trash cans were destroyed. Trash was burned inside of the concrete containers causing them to explode and, in some places, block pedestrian walking routes. A similar pedestrian loop is located around Tamansourt's, linear park. In Tamansourt, because the walking path is surrounded by commercial and recreational activity, it is utilized more frequently and street furniture is appreciated. "Desire paths", which are paths created naturally as a result of heavy foot traffic on unpaved routes, are found on vacant land in both new towns. In both cases they lead to centers of commercial activity as these areas whether planned or unplanned are the safest places to be at any time of day. (See Figure 7-9). A final interesting utilization of the public right-of-way was seen on a telecommunication box where a café had claimed the box by painting on it to advertise for their business. (See Figure 7-10).

Figure 7-8. Left: Full scale informal business operating along the commercial corridor in Tamansourt. Right: Self claimed space on the commercial street in Tamesna, the image shows a white square marked on the street with the word "tailor" in Arabic. Photographs by author.

Figure 7-9. Desire path cutting through a vacant lot in Tamesna leading to the informal market area (top and center left images), October 26, 2018. Desire path in Tamansourt cutting through vacant lots towards the informal market (center right and bottom images), March 10, 2019 and February 17, 2019. Photographs by author.

Figure 7-10. Image of telecommunication enclosure box used to advertise a café in Tamesna. Photograph by author, October 8, 2018.

Vacant Lots. While residents utilize vacant lots as short-cuts seen clearly in the form of desire paths, local officials utilize and benefit from these unbuilt plots in several ways. First, in some cases purchased land that had not been developed after several years can be subject to "empty land" taxation. Second, according to a resident who recently built her house on a serviced plot in Tamansourt, the commune charges contractors rent for storage of construction materials on vacant land (Tamansourt, 03/14-252, 2019). Finally, unbuilt swaths of land are rented by local communes for exhibitions, carnivals and funfairs, and to host traditional equestrian festivals known as "*Taboriida*"[49]. (See Figure 7-11). In both new towns, undeveloped land also provides a space for temporary informal soccer fields. However, since this space is not fenced and unorganized, conflicts arise when different groups claim the space temporarily. One local coach in Tamesna explained:

> Sometimes you come here [undeveloped land] and you see a heard of sheep grazing, you need to wait for them to finish, sometimes you see kids playing, sometimes you see a family relaxing on a picnic blanket, you can't tell them to move, because this is not a field it is empty public land... When it is *Taboriida* season we come and find horses and knights practicing and playing drums everywhere. (paraphrased from Tamesna, 11/15-89, 2018)

---

[49] Moroccan traditional equestrian festivals

In Tamesna, before the Islamic Eid Al Adha holiday, tents are set up on vacant lots to safely keep sheep until Eid day when each family sacrifices their sheep. One woman explained: "they build tents, and we pay for a spot. Like a hotel for sheep. 20MAD (about $2) per day. I put it in the kitchen. It [the sheep] stays with me in the kitchen…" (Tamesna, 09/27-13, 2018). Vacant space, whether public or shared by an apartment complex, is also traditionally used for to set up funeral tents. In the Moroccan culture, funeral tents are set up by neighbors of the mourning family for three days after a person's passing to provide a place for those attending the funeral to gather, offer condolences, and take care of the family. (See Figure 7-59).

Figure 7-11. Top: Panoramic image showing vacant lots in Tamansourt used for Tabourida (on the left) and as a fair ground (on the right). Bottom image: Empty lot used to set up tents for Taboriida horses and horse riders in Tamansourt. Photographs by author, 2019.

Abandoned structures. While residing in a townhouse in Tamansourt, much of our time at home was spent on the roof. The ground floor was dedicated to guest salons and consisted of three traditional Moroccan salons and access to an enclosed front and back yard. During our three months there, we only used this formal space to store our luggage. The first floor contained three bedrooms and a small

unfurnished foyer in the middle where my daughters slept in their pack and play travel cribs. Typically, kitchens in most single-family homes we visited were located on the ground floor. In contrast, the house in which we stayed was renovated such that the kitchen, laundry, and a storage room (or servant bedroom) were on the roof. The kitchen had a breakfast nook where I worked on interview translations and transcribing with the help of my interpreters. The kitchen provided access to the roof where my daughters spent most of their time at home playing. Every day at 5pm the shepherd and his cattle passed by in front of our house. The sound of sheep bleating as they approached became a highly anticipated event for my toddlers. Somedays, the shepherd would even wait for them to come down and watch the sheep up close. From the same roof view, there was an abandoned structure, an incomplete concrete building under construction. The building looked bare with exposed concrete structural columns. Kids used this building as an afterschool and weekend hang-out. They would climb up to the third or fourth floor and take turns sliding down the nearby lamp post like a fireman's pole. (See Figure 7-12). The abandoned buildings were clearly dangerous for those who lived by them and knew how they were utilized by mischievous youth. However, it was not until a tragic event was reported on the morning of November 27th, 2019 that such concerns were confirmed.

The large number of unoccupied villas in both new towns was also a cause for concern, albeit more so in Tamansourt which had a much larger inventory of semi-finished housing. The "medinat el hamra" traditional style housing complex was also abandoned and vandalized. Residents of Al Saada housing in the eastern area of Tamansourt complained of an abandoned school building. Some women claimed it is used by drug dealers, "they even broke the door… a man fixed it, now they go in from that hole (pointing towards an opening in the facade) …" (Tamesna, 10/29-64, 2018).

Empty commercial stores are often repurposed as well. One commercial store was used as a band gathering space and a place to hosting music performances. People sat on the sidewalk looking into the store where music was played. Another commercial store was used by men who played cards. Passing by a group of commercial stores close to our residence in Tamansourt, we often saw motorbikes parked and men playing cards behind the half open store garage.

Figure 7-12. Left: Incomplete concrete structure with halted construction work. Right: A view from our roof top in a Tamansourt single-family townhouse onto a building under construction. Kids utilizing the lamp post as a fireman's pole. Photographs by author, 2019.

Spaces of shared ownership. Many residents of apartment complexes I interviewed in Tamesna and Tamansourt reported moving from more traditional styles of Moroccan housing, whether they had come from slums, *douars,* or from renting in nearby cities. The vast majority of my interviewees were more accustomed to living in single-family and multi-generational housing. Living in an apartment housing complex necessitates sharing a fair amount of space. From compound entry gates, parking, green spaces, apartment building entrances, roofs, facades, foyers, and corridors to staircases and shared apartments, residents were clearly responsible for more maintenance and upkeep than they could handle.

Roofs in the apartment buildings were used to hang out laundry to dry, but also to dry wheat and grains. (See Figure 7-13), to sacrifice sheep during Eid Al Adha, and to rendezvous for lovers. The fact that roofs of multiple buildings are connected is problematic to residents for both inconvenience and safety reasons. One could easily enter a building from the roof either to utilize their elevator or to access

an apartment building with a locked front door. Very few buildings had elevators, so when one apartment building had a working elevator, neighboring buildings capitalized on this asset. For example, people delivering heavy propane gas bottles to upper floors of a building without a working elevator would come in from the neighboring building, up their elevator, across the roof and down to the delivery address. Most residents claimed that when apartment building entrances and roof top doors were not locked, they provided a space for dangerous and societal taboos (drinking, drugs, love relationships, etc.) to occur. As a result, metal doors were installed both on apartment building entryways and over roof access doors. Signs reminding residents to lock apartment building doors were commonly seen and roof separators were installed to prevent people from crossing from one building to another.

Figure 7-13. Left: Woman cleaning harvested seed wheat on the roof top of an apartment building Tamesna, 2018. Right: Clothing rope on roof top of an apartment building in Tamesna, 2018. Bottom: Clothing hanging in roof top of a densely occupied apartment building complex in Tamansourt, 2019. Photographs by author.

Walls and façades provided a canvas for vandalism, expression, and communication. Signs for neighborhood association meetings, homeowner's association dues (known locally as "*syndic*"), and home businesses were commonly displayed around apartment complexes, although some more organized buildings had bulletin boards dedicate to such material. Murals focused on neighborhood rules and promoting cleanliness were common. (See Figure 7-14).

Advertisements for dental offices, in-home barber shops, and baking businesses were also commonly painted on building facades. (See Figure 7-15). Graffiti vandalism is also common, especially in lower income housing complexes. While many times this type of vandalism is due to mischievous youth, sometimes messages relative to the living situation are broadcast. For example, one drawing on a beneficiary public housing complex in Tamesna showed Tamesna as a "jail". In Tamansourt, walls of a public-school fence were used to count election tallies. From election tallies to neighborhood rules and expressive drawings, the walls and facades of different housing complexes and public amenities portrayed the values of different places and their residents. Surprisingly, residents did not complain about the vandalism or use of shared facades to advertise for in-home businesses, when it comes to "walls" their chief concern was the defective construction that led to "cracked" and "crumbling" walls (Tamesna, 11/24-108 & 11/28-131-133, 2018, Tamansourt, 03/15-260, 2019). (See Figure 7-16).

Figure 7-14. (1) Mural in Tamesna, 2018. (2) Neighborhood association notice and list of resident dues. (3) A more organized neighborhood association bulletin in a single-family housing development in Tamesna. (4) Apartment complex rules painted onto the walls in Tamansourt. (5) Murals with quotes encouraging residents to maintain cleanliness of their shared space. Photographs by author 2018 & 2019.

Figure 7-15. (1) Dental office signage painted on apartment complex façade in Tamansourt. (2) Salon/barber Tamesna and (3) Women's salon in Tamansourt. (4) Tailor in Tamansourt, (5) Tailor business run from home in Tamesna. Photographs by author, 2018 & 2019.

Figure 7-16. Top: Vandalism in shared apartment complexes in Tamesna (left) and Tamansourt (right). Bottom: A drawing on the wall showing a stick figure/person peeking from behind a wall with visible text reading "drugs" and "our life in jail" (left). Local commune election tally drawn on the façade of a public school in Tamansourt. Photographs by author, 2018 & 2019.

Corridors and staircases are shared spaces that require a fair amount of cleaning and maintenance and residents often had disputes about those spaces. One resident in an apartment building in Tamansourt explained that people "will only clean by their door… and when and they take their trash out you them holding the [trash] bucket and the water dripping all down the stairs…" (Tamansourt, 01/29-162, 2019). Some apartment owners closed off parts of shared corridors to make into private areas for shoe and bike storage. (See Figure 7-17). Spaces under staircases were used by some residents to store strollers and bikes as well, especially since most buildings did not have elevators to ease trips up and down the stairs with children's strollers. In some apartment buildings, the neighbor's association created closed off under-stair storage areas to avoid miscellaneous items from collecting dust and becoming

homes to mice and rats (Tamesna, 11/01-72, 2018). In one apartment building in Tamesna, the women in charge of the storage area disclosed that prior to closing the area for residents, the building developer (Al Omrane) was renting the space to apartment owners undertaking renovations to store their building materials (Tamesna 11/01-72, 2018). As shared spaces, corridors and staircases also needed to be cleaned, painted and lit. In apartment buildings that lacked sufficient management and resident unity, the electrical bills for shared spaces were not paid and residents relied on flashlights and phones to walk up and down the stairs. When inquiring as to why some apartment buildings were better maintained, I found that it was highly dependent on an active syndic (homeowners association), but this was not always the case. One very well-maintained apartment building in Tamansourt had light pendants on the corridor lights, stenciled paintings on the walls, motion sensor lights in the staircase and some paintings hanging in the foyer between each three apartments. They also had versus of the *Qur'an* above the main door and a bulletin board with the names and payments/contributions. (See Figure 7-18). I was sure they had an active syndicate and wanted to meet with them. However, according to one renter in the building they did not have an official neighborhood association/syndic. The maintenance efforts were those of one man living in the building and the majority of resident's both renters and owners appreciated and contributed to his efforts (Tamansourt, 03/14-249, 2019).

Figure 7-17. (1) Image of an apartment unit closing off part of the shared corridor to make a small personal foyer area for storing shoes, shopping carts and strollers. (2) Image of staircase in a public housing apartment building (3) Image of roof staircase landing used by residents to store personal items. Photographs by author. Tamesna, 2018.

Figure 7-18. Well-maintained corridors shared foyers in an affordable apartment building in Tamansourt. Photographs by author, 2019.

Green spaces and shared open spaces were also areas that required heavy maintenance and upkeep and were a big concern for residents who utilized them as an everyday leisure space for their young children. Ground floor apartments in public housing compounds were generally reserved for the elderly and disabled. (See Figure 7-20). Kids playing soccer and banging on the building façade and windows were yelled at by elderly neighbors. Mothers sat on the edge of the sidewalk watching their kids play in the sandy garden beds. Looking out at the vast space between Al Amal apartment buildings in Tamesna, one resident mentioned there is "space but no place" (in Darija: *etsa' kyn o shi makyn*), implying that the open spaces were unstructured and there was nothing to do in them (Tamesna, 10/11-45, 2018). Excess space also allowed cars, motorcycles and treporter (three-wheeled vehicles) to enter freely, making the space dangerous for kids to play unsupervised. (See Figure 7-19). In one of Tamansourt's apartment complexes signs of trash burning were also found in the shared space. (See Figure 7-22).

Within the shared green space of apartment complexes, planted beds acted as buffers collecting trash around their edges. (See Figure 7-21). Some of the spaces designated for planted shrubs are fenced with barbed wire, to discourage cattle from grazing or trash from collecting inside the beds. Dog houses and rabbit coops were also occasionally found in those shared spaces. (See Figure 7-23). Clothing lines hang between trees, lamp posts and window bars. (See Figure 7-24). Those who live on the first or second floor generally find it easier to hang their clothing on the ground floor, rather than the roof. (See Figure 7-27). It was not uncommon to find a chair, stool, or some sort of brick that one could sit on as they waited for their clothing to dry out of fear that someone might steal or destroy (i.e., paint, cut or rip) their clothing. Some people lay their wheat grains to dry in the sun, while others use the space to disinfect upholstered furniture weekly by placing them under the bacteria-killing sun rays. (See Figure 7-25). Funeral and special occasion tents are also set up in these spaces. Guard sheds, privacy screens and informally built storage sheds could also be found. Many mobile street vendors also used this space to store their vending carts. (See Figure 7-26 & Figure 7-28).

Figure 7-20. Image of a ground floor apartment reserved for elderly/disabled residents. Photograph by author, 2018.

Figure 7-19. Vast area of unstructured shared space in Tamesna's Al Amal development. Photograph by author, October 11, 2018.

Figure 7-22. Signs of trash being burnt in the shared space in one of Tamansourt's affordable housing complexes. Photographs by author, January 23, 2019.

Figure 7-21. Top: Shrubs in the open space of an apartment complex in Tamesna act as a buffer for collecting trash. Bottom: Fences installed by apartment owners in one of Tamansourt's affordable housing complexes. Photographs by author, 2018 & 2019.

Figure 7-23. Left: Dog house in an apartment complex in Tamesna. Right: Rabbit coop in an apartment complex in Tamansourt. Photographs by author, 2018 & 2019.

Figure 7-24. (1) Drying rope installation in a recessed area of an apartment complex in Tamesna, (2) clothing line attached to window bars with two bricks that residents used as stools to reach the clothing wire and as seating while they await their clothing to dry, (3) clothing line attached to two trees in the center of a public housing complex in Tamesna, (4) Conducting an interview with an affordable housing resident as she sits in the shade behind a bush and awaits her clothing to dry in the sun in Tamansourt. Photographs by author, 2018 & 2019.

Figure 7-27. A clothing line extended across a fenced shared space in Tamansourt. Photograph by author, 2019.

Figure 7-25. Left: Drying grains in the shared open space in an apartment complex in Tamesna, 2018. Right: A sheep grazing on wheat grains drying on the sidewalk in Tamansourt, 2019. Photographs by author.

Figure 7-26. Two paradoxical ways shared space is privatized in apartment complexes in Tamesna. Photographs by author, 2018.

Figure 7-28. (1) Makeshift guard shed for an apartment complex in Tamansourt, (2&3) Storage sheds in Tamesna, (4+5) Shared space and parking lots used to store vendor carts in Tamesna. Photographs by author.

Windows and balconies, especially in smaller apartment units, provide potential spaces to store

bikes, shoes, plants, pots, *tagines* (traditional Moroccan ceramic cooking vessels), *hammam* buckets, and

other occasionally used items that require room. In general, during construction, developers tend to install window bars only on ground floor windows to avoid break-ins, while buildings are in the final finishing phases or are still on the market for sale and hence unoccupied. (See Figure 7-29).

During my first few visits to Tamesna in 2015 and 2016, my assumption was that window bars were installed purely for safety reasons and to avoid break-ins. However, I noticed that any occupied apartment made the efforts to enclose all their windows and balconies. Some even extending as far out as possible to make extra storage space. (See Figure 7-31, Figure 7-33 & Figure 7-34). Any protrusion or recession in the façade, whether part of the design or setback regulations, was subject to becoming a private storage enclosure by the nearest resident. (See Figure 7-30). Clothes and carpets hung down from customized window bars creatively. In almost every neighborhood we entered, there was at least one woman watching us carefully from behind her window, I learned that this was a classic Moroccan version of the "nosey neighbor" phenomenon known locally as *"brgagt el homa"*. Kids also sat on the metal bars watching below. (See Figure 7-32 left image). In fact, one of the reasons many apartments installed the window bars were to protect children from falling out. One storekeeper in Tamesna recalled the incident of a child who walked right out of their window and fell from a third-floor apartment. He explained "that people here [beneficiaries/former slum dwellers] are not used to living too high above" (personal correspondence, 2015).

Figure 7-29. Broken windows in an unoccupied ground floor apartment in Tamansourt. Windowbars installed by developers. Photograph by author, 2018.

Figure 7-30. Privatization of shared space in Tamesna by enclosing the area whereby the façade is slightly recessed. Photograph by author, 2018.

Figure 7-31. Windowsills extended as far out as possible to provide extra storage space. Top row showing windowsill extensions in Tamesna, 2018. Bottom two images show windowsill extensions in Tamansourt, 2019. Photographs by author.

Figure 7-33. Images 1, 2 & 3: Balcony enclosures in Tamesna, 2018. Bottom right image shows balcony enclosure in Tamansourt, 2019. Photographs by author.

Figure 7-32. Left: Kids sitting in the top left window sill extension in an apartment building in Tamesna. (See top left corner window sill). Right: Temporary balcony bars to prevent children from falling in Tamansourt. Photographs by author, 2018 & 2019.

Figure 7-34. Windowsills used to store pots, planters (top), *tagines* and shoes (bottom). Photographs by author, 2018 & 2019.

Having an active and well-run residents' union (*syndic*) has an influence on all of the above-described shared spaces. When asking residents about who maintains the space, and specifically who waters the plants in the central shared space one resident of an apartment building with no active syndicate answered: "if God didn't water them… no one will…" (Tamansourt, 02/02-173, 2019). Another resident explained:

> No one… God waters them… and those who were responsible for the first 2 years or so… when we had just bought [purchased the apartment] there were those who were responsible here… I don't know if its the syndic or what…" but "since their time ended, there has been no cleaning or watering of the trees or anything… nothing… (Tamansourt, 03/14-251, 2019)

Another resident we asked about who waters the plants in their apartment complex in Tamansourt also said no one and went on to show us how she waters only the plants directly beneath her apartment building by dumping buckets of water from her fifth floor balcony. (Field notes from interview in Tamansourt, 01/29-162, 2019). Developments that were well kept and maintained either had an active *syndic* or were still under the management of the developer, as they had many unsold units. (See Figure 7-35). This phenomenon was seen in Tamesna's neighboring Annour development, whereby facades facing the highway and those adjacent to the developer Addoha's sales office were freshly painted. Whereas the inner complex facades showed much wear. (See Figure 7-36).

Figure 7-35. Well-maintained green space in two different apartment complexes in Tamesna, 2018 (top images) and in Tamansourt, 2019 (bottom images). Photographs by author.

Figure 7-36. Freshly painted outer façade and well-maintained green space in an apartment complex still managed by the private developers in Annour development adjacent to Tamesna. Photographs by author, November 24, 2018.

Technological Innovations for Navigating the New Town

Given the shortfalls in infrastructure and the problems associated with maintenance of shared spaces in apartment complexes, residents in the new towns have had to resort to other objects to help them navigate the new town. Flashlights and smartphone lights were used both inside the unlit staircases

of shared apartment buildings as well as on public streets at night when public lighting was inefficient. To avoid falling in the occasional potholes in Tamesna or the uncovered manholes, residents in both new towns were often seen relying on flashlights and smartphones. (See Figure 7-37).

In addition to spatial adaptations, residents in four or five story walk-up apartment buildings reported a change in habits. Carrying a water bottle is not common in Moroccan culture, instead people rely on cafés and neighbors for a glass of water. However, because people now lived in walk-up apartments, and needed to climb up and down stairs multiple times a day when taking their children to and from school, water bottles become an important object to carry around (Tamansourt 03/16- 263, 2019).

Figure 7-37. Women walking back home on a Sunday night after visiting the informal market in Tamansourt. Photograph by author. February 17, 2019 at 8:00pm.

Regional Influences on New Town Characteristics

The location of the new town has an impact on its culture. Bikes and motorcycles were utilized much more in Tamansourt as the moped culture is very common in Marrakech. In Tamesna, when I asked one woman whether they would consider riding bikes, her snappy response "what are we Chinese?" She made it clear that the lack of alternative transportation modes in Tamesna was more relative to cultural preferences than to accessibility (Tamesna 10/20-54 & 55, 2018). Another example of how regional culture affects each new town differently is seen in the products sold by street vendors and in retail stores.

Nikabs (face coverings), prayer clothes, and conservative women's clothing were sold and worn much more in Tamansourt than in Tamesna. In fact, none of the vendors in Tamesna's informal market sold nikabs, whereas in Tamansourt's informal market vendors displayed nikabs (face coverings) and hijabs (head coverings) on mannequin heads. Bearded men and the high prevalence of informal mosques in Tamansourt also made it clear that Tamansourt had a more conservative culture. Being closer to Morocco's southern Berber region, women of Berber origin in Tamansourt were also commonly seen in their traditional long flowing robes and head coverings. (See Figure 7-38).

Figure 7-38. Map showing proximity of Berber region to Tamansourt. Source: Thematic map of Ethnolinguistic Groups in Morocco 1973 obtained from the University of Texas at Austin Libraries database: https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/morocco.html map No. 500977. Approximate locations of Tamesna and Tamansourt added by author.
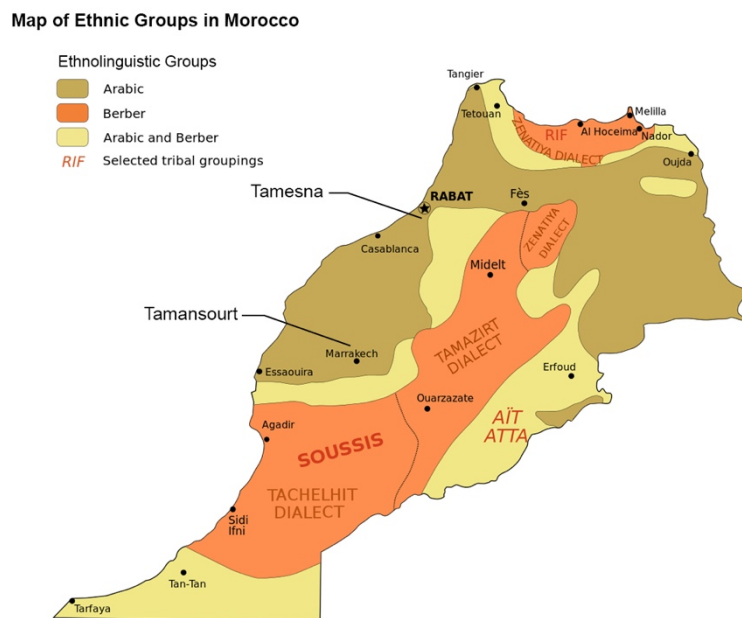
Living Spaces (Apartments, Single Family Villas and Serviced Plots)

Apartments. The majority of apartment units in the new towns ranged from 50-70m^2 (about 550-750 square feet). Subsidized apartments were approximately somewhere between 40-64m^2 and included one salon (living room), two small bedrooms, a small kitchen (Figure 7-39), one full bath and occasionally a very small, almost purely aesthetic, balcony. Dining rooms are not very common in

Moroccan culture. Families either eat on the floor or gather on the living room (*salon*) couches and add chairs around a round table, much like a breakfast nook setting. (See Figure 7-40). In the subsidized apartments I visited in Tamesna, residents showed me how the walls retained moisture/dampness and trapped cold air due to improper drainage. (See Figure 7-41). One woman in the Diar Al Mansour complex in Tamesna rubbed her walls to show me how chunks of concrete fell off. Damp and spalling concrete walls make it difficult to mount anything onto the walls. A common solution to cover up spalling concrete walls is installation of kitchen/floor tiles on the walls (See Figure 7-40 right image). Tiles added onto the already fragile walls added load to the building's foundation. Washing machines are hard to accommodate in the limited space. One resident disclosed that her washing machine is installed in her bedroom (Tamesna, 10/29-69, 2018). Another woman showed us how she had remodeled her bathroom— taking out the shower area and using the extra 100x150cm space to store stacked heavy winter blankets.

Many businesses operating from apartment units were unregistered home businesses. In some cases, residents compromised their living space to accommodate women's associations, barber shops, convenience stores, daycares, and baking businesses. In Tamesna, one association owner explained how it was difficult for her to rent an apartment as an association as landlords often feared the taxation that comes with renting for non-residential/business purposes. Instead, the owner of this particular women's association in Tamesna's Al Najah neighborhood converted her own apartment into a women's association for teaching illiteracy, baking, sewing and embroidery[50] classes to women in Tamesna for a reasonable monthly fee. (See Figure 7-42). Another woman in Tamansourt's Palmerie neighborhood had compromised her families living space to accommodate a women's association. During our interview at around three o'clock in the afternoon, typically siesta time in Morocco, her teenage daughter opened the door for us in her pajamas and went back into her room. We sat in the living room where the women had set up a reception office with the business cards for her association and the desert making teacher's "*sur commande*" (by order) business cards were on display. During the day, when her husband was at work

---

[50] Embroidery classes are taught using the traditional Moroccan technique known as *randa*

and her kids were at school, she offered sewing and baking classes to local women in Tamansourt. The goal of her association is to:

> …empower and train women and to prepare them for the job market…so women are not vulnerable and do not feel like a burden on anyone, so they are not reliant on a man only, and so they can enhance their living and financial situation. (paraphrased from Tamansourt, 03/14-259, 2019)

She went on to talk about the situation in Tamansourt and how a women's association in a "medina that just started" (i.e., a new town/medina) helps women "get involved with people, to become for active and proactive and not remain shy and hesitant, instead women can start to do things for themselves" (paraphrased from Tamansourt, 03/14-259, 2019). Women's associations do not only offer skills trainings but also "incentives like certificates and diplomas" and have the potential to "organize events, exhibitions and festivals" in the future (ibid). Unlike other home businesses, women's associations were generally registered at the Ministry of Solidarity, Women, Family and Social Development and can apply for funding from Morocco's National Human Development Initiative (Tamesna, 10/08-34, 2018). However, both associations we spoke to in Tamesna and Tamansourt were just at one year since their establishment and were predominantly operating at the cost of their owners. Both women were civic activists interested in women's empowerment.

First floor apartments have prime access to shared space and made the perfect location for a convenience store to operate from ground level windows. (See Figure 7-44 & Figure 7-43). A concrete step and metal cover made it easy to spot convenience stores in any apartment complex. In addition to providing a much-needed neighborhood service, convenience stores provided "eyes on the street". One man operating a convenience store from his window in Tamesna's Dior El Sofer neighborhood explained how commercial stores for rent were too expensive for convenience stores to operate (costing between 6,000-9,000MAD). Instead, he chose to rent an apartment and operate a small convenience store from it as well (Tamesna, 10/03-27, 2018). The family of five live in a two-bedroom rental apartment and have sacrificed one bedroom for the store to operate from. Daycares also commonly operated from first floor

apartments and in some cases created openings onto the apartment complex's shared space or onto the

main street. (See Figure 7-43).

Figure 7-39. Image of a typical kitchen in an affordable housing apartment unit. A stool height dining table for everyday use is shown on the bottom right of the image. Photograph by author, 2018.
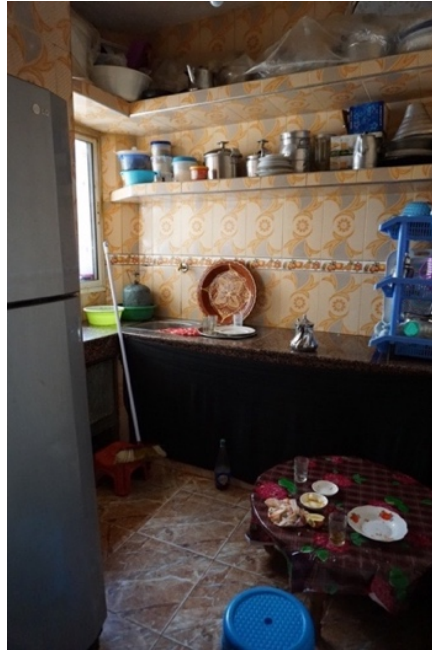
Figure 7-40. Pictures of living room (salon) space in apartments with traditional round dining table in the center. Photographs by author, 2018.

Figure 7-41. Pictures of walls retaining moisture in affordable apartment complexes in Tamesna. Photographs by author, 2018.

Figure 7-42. A women's association in a ground floor apartment unit in Tamesna. Photographs by author, 2018.

Figure 7-44. A women's association operating from a family's living space in an apartment unit Tamansourt. Photograph by author, 2019.

Figure 7-43. (1) Image of convenience store operating from ground floor apartment window in Tamesna (see awning in the far left of the picture), (2) Image of tailor home business in Tamesna, (3) Daycare in Tamesna, (4) Women's hair salon in Tamansourt. Photographs by author, 2018 & 2019.

Single Family Semi-Finished Villas. The single-family (villa) neighborhoods in both Tamesna and Tamansourt were overwhelmingly empty during my time in the new towns. Two reasons came up in conversations with locals and elite professionals as explanations for the situation of abandoned villas. The first was that opening up the new towns as receiving areas for former slum dwellers led to new towns being perceived as less attractive to middle-income home buyers. In one single-family neighborhood in Tamesna, I learned that the majority of the single-family homes were sold before plans for an adjacent public housing apartment complex were made and prior to the affordable housing development being designated as a slum receiving site. In the highly stratified Moroccan society, the stigma associated with sharing space with former slum dwellers led to a "middle-class flight" situation, where villa owners disinvested in their properties as public housing residents took over the neighborhood. In an interview with Abdulrahman Chorfi, a retired senior official at the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism and adjunct lecturer at the International University of Rabat's Architecture Department, he criticized the use of the New Towns Program as a receiving site for the Cities without Slums Program mentioning: "if you build new towns then bring slum dwellers, no one is going to want to live there" (Rabat, 06/02-1, 2016). Visiting the neighborhood in Tamesna where villas were across the street from a public housing complex that housed former slum dwellers (See Figure 7-45), I noticed how public housing residents repurposed the fences on abandoned villas to hang their carpets to dry.

The second reason most single-family houses in Tamesna and Tamansourt were vacant was that many middle-income home buyers purchased property in the new towns as speculative investment. A large number of villas were also owned by international investors or Moroccans living abroad. (See Figure 7-46). In Tamansourt in particular, villas that were advertised for rent online were equipped with swimming pools and advertised for Marrakech tourists. Additionally, the few villa residents I interviewed who live in semi-finished villas in Tamansourt were retired and moved out of Marrakech in search of a quitter environment. In addition to semi-finished villas, Tamansourt had serviced plots (for auto-construction) available at a wide range of prices and locations. Many Moroccan middle-class homeowners preferred to purchase a plot of land and build it to their needs and standards. At the time of my research,

the empty and abandoned villas in both new towns were causing problems both for residents and for elite professionals. Mischievous youth could easily jump the fences and use abandoned buildings for drugs or other activities. The sight of these deserted structures also affected the overall development of the new towns. (See Figure 7-46). Homeowners would not feel safe living next to an abandoned property. One way government officials encouraged the development of serviced plots was by instilling a "tax on vacant land". To avoid the fees associated with vacant land, plot owners need to begin developing their land following specific requirements. While ensuring serviced plots are built and hopefully occupied is possible, this is not the case for semi-finished villas. As one official in Al Omrane Tamansourt explained: "[the villas] are private property now, if they [their owners] pay their taxes and everything Al Omrane cannot do anything about it…" even though the situation has been affecting sales "in a very direct way" (Marrakech, 03/25-272, 2019).

Figure 7-45. (1) Map showing villa neighborhood in the north, and a line of affordable housing apartments to its southern edge. Source: Google Earth satellite imagery with development boundaries added by author. (2) Street view between villas (right) and public housing complex (left), (3) Abandoned villas in foreground, and a five-story apartment complex in the background. Photographs by author, 2018.

Figure 7-46. Top: Villas for sale in Tamesna. Center: Empty semi-finished villa neighborhood in Tamesna. Bottom: Gated single-family neighborhood at the outskirts of Tamesna. Photographs by author, 2018.

Serviced Plots. As mentioned previously, at the time of my research (2018-2019) only Tamansourt had rolled out their serviced-plot subdivisions. Tamesna had sites designated for serviced plots, but none had initiated housing construction yet. (See Figure 7-47). During my time in Tamansourt, as part of the randomized stratified sampling technique I utilized, I visited the neighborhoods with serviced plots in each of Tamansourt's eight phases (Figure 7-49), gathered observational field notes, and conducted interviews with their residents. While most houses were still under construction, they were mostly occupied. Horses and mules with pull wagons delivered construction materials throughout. While

these areas looked like a constant work in progress, there was evidence of stability and community. (See Figure 7-48, Figure 7-51, Figure 7-50, & Figure 7-53). Many groups of women neighbors were gathered sitting on stools and talking. Two neighbors in the plots at phase 8 were sitting on stools at their front doors cleaning dried beans on a sheet pan, taking turns when either one's child needed attention. Businesses were operating from ground floor garages even while houses were still under construction. (See Figure 7-54, Figure 7-55, & Figure 7-55). In general, residents I spoke with in the self-build housing areas were satisfied with their choice to move to Tamansourt. Their most cited hardship was transportation. The less expensive plots were located too far away from major bus routes and it was becoming difficult for their college-aged children to take the bus to Marrakech to attend college. In terms of services, the garages on the ground floor of plots filled the gap. Convenience stores, carpenters, tailors, barbers and specialty olive, date and dairy stores were found in those spaces. Families either run their own business or rent out the garage to a small entrepreneur. I visited a public oven (*farran*) operated by a husband and wife from the ground floor of their semi-finished home. A line of baskets with homemade bread were awaiting their turn to be baked in the neighborhood's wood-fired oven. Kids then came by after school to pick-up their family's baked bread on the way home for lunch. This encounter was typical in traditional Moroccan neighborhoods I visited.

In Tamesna, unsatisfied public housing beneficiaries spoke highly of a nearby city, Ain Aouda, where former slum dwellers were given self-build plots in the late 1970s (Tamesna, 09/24-5 & 6, 2018). I visited the public housing neighborhoods in Ain Aouda to get a feel of how they had developed 40 years since they were built. From interviews with public housing beneficiaries in Ain Aouda, I learned that to build their plots, some residents shared their land with siblings and divided the construction costs amongst two families (Ain Aouda 11/19-98, 2018). One woman I spoke to was sharing her 60m^2 (645ft^2) plot with her sister, "I took only downstairs [first floor] and she [my sister] took upstairs [second floor]" (Ain Aouda 11/19-98, 2018). The woman did not complain of the size, but noted that they would like to be given permission to build an additional (third) floor:

If they allow us to build the third floor, we will have more space… because on the first [ground] floor I have this store [a poultry store] so the space is limited. I only have a kitchen and salon [living room] and this place here [outdoor space in front of the garage/store where we interviewed her]. (ibid)

Some residents had already built a third floor, but it was not yet officially legalized in Ain Aouda. Another public housing beneficiary shared that she had not built her plot herself: "someone else [a donor, a person with good will known as 'muhsenen'] built it for me". When the donors helped this particular widow, they only provided the basics on the ground floor, a living rooms space, small kitchen space and a bathroom (Ain Aouda 11/19-100, 2018). Her son who has some plumbing, painting and construction skills is helping her slowly build the first floor. (See Figure 7-56). Serviced plots were noted as more desirable than apartments for several reasons. First, plots, unlike apartments, require less investment upfront and people do not need to resort to banks for credit/loans, instead they can borrow money from family, share space to divide costs and build slowly (Al Rahma, 11/30-140, 2018). Several interviewees I talked to throughout my field research were not comfortable with taking bank loans because they involved interest which falls under the Islamic concept of "*riba*" (exploitative gains) and is considered "*haram*" (forbidden) under Islamic Law (Ain Aouda, 11/19-96, 2018, Tamesna, 11/26-120, 2018, Tamansourt, 02/20-199, 2019). Interviewees also noted that having a plot gives you freedom, one would not need to argue with neighbors about who cleans the staircase and kids are not influenced by others: "you are independent and by yourself no one can talk to you or bother you…" (Ain Aouda, 11/19-97, 2018). According to an interviewee living in a public housing plot, the difference between living in an apartment and in a house is "like the difference between the sky and the ground…in a house you are living by yourself… and you go up to your (stresses) own roof… and no one bothers you." (Ain Aouda, 11/19-95, 2018). Finally, as noted above, ground floor garages in the serviced plots were a great source of income for homeowners.

The experiences of public housing beneficiaries who have lived in serviced plots over 25 years in Ain Aouda were very similar to those of serviced plot beneficiaries in Tamansourt who had only been

there for 10 years or less (interviews with phase 8 plot beneficiaries in Tamansourt, 02/16-188-192, 2019). In both Ain Aouda and Tamansourt, people found spaces on empty land or unbuilt plots to set up a woodfired oven (Figure 7-57) or *hammam* (traditional Moroccan steam room for bathing). One homeowner in Tamansourt had utilized their home garage as a convenience store and built a *hammam* and wood-fired oven on the roof. The simple plot provided an income, shelter and two very important everyday amenities; a wood-fired oven and *hammam*. (See Figure 7-55). In Tamansourt's plot neighborhoods, I watched kids play together in the shared space between houses. Neighborhood events were held in shared spaces. (See Figure 7-59). Residents seemed to maintain the shared areas better since they had direct access to those space from their houses. (See Figure 7-58). Like I had witnessed in more traditional neighborhoods, in Tamansourt's plot neighborhoods, neighbors visit each other, watch over each other's children, and openly host guests. In my experience, the scale of the neighborhoods and houses in Tamansourt's plot subdivisions were more intimate than the scale of apartment complexes and compared greatly with other more established, yet modest, neighborhoods I visited in Ain Aouda, Sidi Slimane, and BenGuerir during my time in Morocco.

Figure 7-47. Serviced plots subdivision in Tamesna. Photograph by author, 2018.

Figure 7-49. Map of Tamansourt's phases. Source: Al Omrane site plan for Tamansourt modified by author to highlight phases.
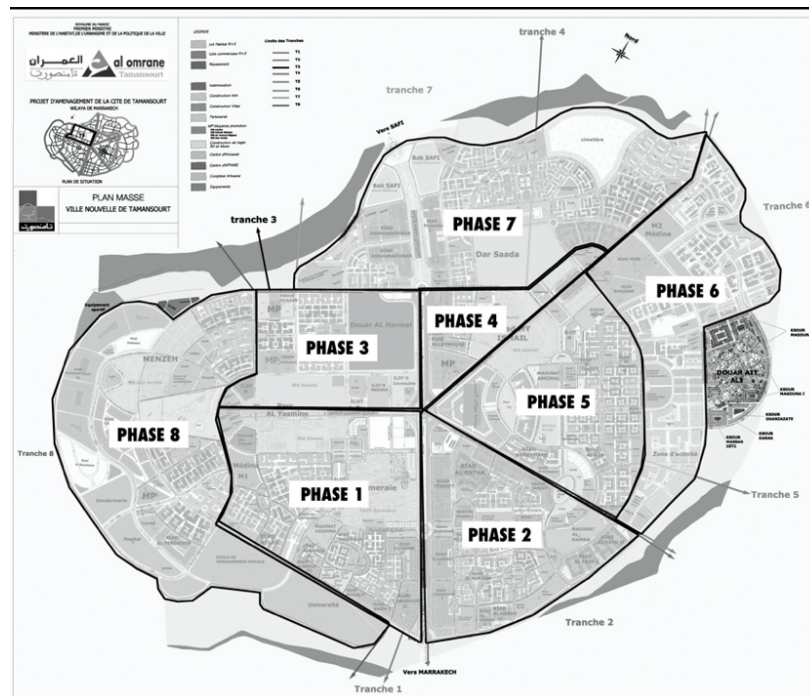
Figure 7-48. Plots under construction in phase 4, Tamansourt. Photographs by author, 2019.

Figure 7-51. (1) Serviced plots under construction in phase 5 across from semi-finished villas. (2) Houses under construction in phase 5, (3) Building material storage, (4) Phase 3 serviced plots in the foreground and built up plots in the background. Photographs by author, 2019.

Figure 7-50. Houses under construction in phase 5 with first floors occupied and half-finished façade. Photographs by author, 2019.

Figure 7-53. Top: Neighborhoods with plot developments in Tamansourt, Bottom: Public housing beneficiary neighborhood in Ain Aouda. Photographs by author, November 19, 2018.

Figure 7-52. Left: *Hammam* built on empty plot adjacent to built house. Right: *Hammam* built on rooftop of a built plot in Tamansourt. Photographs by author, 2019.

Figure 7-54. Left: Café business in Phase 3, Tamansourt. Right: Daycare business operating from a semi-built plot in Tamansourt. Photographs by author, 2019.

Figure 7-55. Convenience store on the ground floor and a wood-fired oven and hammam on the roof of a self-built plot in Tamansourt. Photograph by author, 2019.

Figure 7-56. Images of a semi-built public housing plot in Ain Aouda. Incomplete construction but includes livable facilities, a living room, bathroom and kitchen. (1) The ground floor living space with floor seating where the owner makes carpets, (2) The television, and round dining table across from the living room seating area (3) A functioning kitchen. Photographs by author, November 19, 2018.

Figure 7-57. Plots in Ain Aouda with outdoor wood-fired ovens set up across the street on empty land. Photographs by author, November 19, 2018.

Figure 7-59. Left: Funeral tent set up in the shared area in Phase 7 Plots. Right: Informal mosque built by homeowners in Phase 7 Plots. Photographs by author, 2019.

Figure 7-58. Shared green space in the plots in phase 1, Tamansourt. Photograph by author, 2019.

Virtual space. Finally, part of becoming a member of a community today involved joining their virtual space on social media. Joining the Facebook pages for both new towns were helpful for me to know when to attend events, follow-up on the latest news, and to follow threads relative to apartment rentals and recommendations for the best neighborhoods to live among other recommendations by residents. Women's groups were most helpful as they were the ones who spent most of their time in the

new towns and organized playdates, recommended hammams, physicians, transportation options, and more. In Tamesna, I learned about and attended a cemetery cleanup event organized by local civic association. In Tamansourt, I attended a girls' soccer tournament organized by the public social-sports center (in French: *sociosportif centre*) in celebration of Women's Day. Facebook pages led me into the efforts of civic activists. For example, in Tamesna countering all the negative publicity the new town was getting one resident had started a group called "Tamesna - Positive Attitudes". In an interview with the group's organizer, Hicham, he explained that:

> People are the ones who promote the medina [referring to new town, Tamesna]… people can come live in the medina, people can come invest in the medina and if they invest in the medina… you will see more services in the medina… but if you make people run away from the medina… you will not let people come to you… people will run away from the medina… so in the [Facebook] page that I started or whenever I talk about Tamesna I talk about the positive things to spread positivity. (Tamesna 11/14, 2018)

The informal settlements (douars). In this hyper-planned space that new town residents are actively making their own, there exist contrasting examples of more indigenous settlements surviving in the face of encroaching development. While informal settlements have historically been known to appear near or at the periphery of new developments, one does not expect to see signs of informal living *within* a new town development. Walking or driving inside the new town developments, Tamesna and Tamansourt, this is surprisingly not the case. Both new towns have pre-existing informal settlements within their boundaries. In Tamesna, the informal settlement Douar Sodea has been occupied by the families of agricultural workers since the protectorate period. Douar Sodea, which is built on land previously owned by an agricultural company, is located in the south western area of Tamesna and is surrounded by rising apartment compounds. (See Figure 7-61 & Figure 7-60). At the time of my fieldwork, there was still no consensus on whether or when Douar Sodea would be removed or

restructured and how its residents would be compensated fairly if they were to be resettled (Tamesna 10/29-67, 2018).

As is the case in Tamesna, within Tamansourt's boundaries, there are signs of informal settlements. First, Douar El Harmel, which was mostly demolished at the time of this fieldwork (2019), is located at the center of the new town and labeled as "the old medina" in satellite imagery. (See Figure 7-63 with Google map image highlighting both *douars*). Douar El Harmel is built on government military land (guich) and was historically occupied by indigenous collective owners (sulaliyeen) of military families who are, therefore, considered "by-rights" landowners. Earlier plans for the area suggested the historic *douar* remains in place—however, when the land became designated for development of new town Tamansourt under the national VNP things changed. Douar El Harmel was to be completely removed and residents would be compensated in accordance with several predetermined factors. These included: whether they were original by-rights owners or descendants of by-rights owners or whether they had bought into the *douar* in recent years. Today, Douar El Harmel is almost 80% demolished, leaving some deteriorating occupied housing shacks and the remnants of cleared housing former agricultural activity. (See Figure 7-62 & Figure 7-64).

Additionally, there is Douar Ait Ali which is located on the north eastern boundary/edge of the Tamansourt. Douar Ait Ali was designated by officials for "restructuring in place" since the beginning of Tamansourt's planning. At the time of my fieldwork, Douar Ait Ali was undergoing infrastructural transformations such that it becomes a more formal part of Tamansourt with adequate access to water, electricity, and paved roads. (See Figure 7-65).

Unlike historic (post-WWII) new town developments that were promoted as "blank-slate developments", contemporary new towns in Morocco were clearly not built on blank slates. Standing in the informal settlements within and around Tamesna and Tamansourt, one can see how the new developments are encroaching onto semi-formal traditional neighborhoods and the surrounding agricultural activities that had supported generations of *douar* residents. My own expectations going into the field was to find informal and squatter settlements sprouting around the new developments; this was

not the case. Instead, new housing complexes and urban developments were sprouting around the new towns because of state-led developmentalism policies in which the government prepares large land divisions for development and contracts with the private sector to ensure rapid build-up (Témara 11/27-124, 2018). The view, both from within a pre-existing *douar* and from the roof top of an apartment complex in Tamesna, shows how development is spreading in different directions. In Tamansourt as well, apartment buildings, serviced plots, housing complexes, and mosque minarets were seen sprouting around established neighborhoods and massive "modern" development encroaching onto more traditional, modest neighborhoods.

A question that came up in interviews with *douar* residents was whether the encroaching development was beneficial or detrimental to their livelihoods. There were mixed reactions. In Douar Sodea (Tamesna) and Douar Ait Ali (Tamansourt), residents reported that Tamesna and Tamansourt provided access to schools, but took away their livelihoods. Before Tamesna's development, SODEA, a government run agricultural company owned and operated on the land. The company was disbanded in 2003 and Al Omrane took over the land (Keep, 2017). (See also Chapter Five for more on the pre-existing *douar* in Tamesna, Douar Sodea). A resident described their life before and after Tamesna was established: "When it was Sodea there before Tamesna… people were working men and woman were working in the fields… but as soon as it was given for housing, that's it nothing was left… only buildings…" (Focus group with Douar Sodea residents, Tamesna 11/29-135, 2018).

Residents in apartment complexes around Douar Sodea had one chief complaint, which was that the livestock of *douar* residents roam around their complexes and graze on the little green space they have. One woman explained:

> We have only one problem with them… when they let their livestock roam around here… that's why people put fences around their gardens here… you need to watch them. We are thinking of putting fences too… because they [the developers] don't help you to put fences. If you didn't do it yourself, no one will do it… (Tamesna 10/29-69, 2018)

While Douar Sodea (Tamesna) residents do not own their land or houses, original Douar Ait Ali (Tamansourt) residents owned both their houses and the land surrounding their *douar*. At the beginning of Tamansourt's development, residents of Douar Ait Ali were offered serviced plots as compensation for their land and were told their homes and *douar* will be left in place and restructured with the necessary infrastructure. Some residents in Douar Ait Ali, whose properties needed to be removed to make way for streets and infrastructure, were eligible for compensation and resettlement (Tamansourt 01/23-150, 2019). However, over ten years later, original *douar* residents have not yet been compensated for their land which is currently being developed into Tamansourt. As one resident explained "the land is still there but it's not ours…" Her daughter added "now it belongs to them [Al Omrane] …". Prior to that this land was used by its owners for agriculture. Among other crops, white beans were grown here. From behind her door, the daughter showed us their contract with Al Omrane, which dates to 2008. "They gave us papers… it's what we have… the papers are what is there…" (Tamansourt 01/26-152, 2019). She explained that agriculture was their way of life and unless their men find "a place where they can help with agriculture and farming" they will not be able to work as this is the main skillset for the majority of the original landowners. Without agriculture, there was also no excess wood for home wood fired ovens and hammams to operate. People had to either purchase wood or close off their in-home hammams and ovens and rely on public ones.

In addition to the losing their land and jobs, original residents in Douar Ait Ali feel lost between two worlds. They still live informal housing and are surrounded by new development. While the infrastructure is being updated, residents are not allowed to make any repair or restoration projects on their homes. "If we only moved a brick, the muqaddam [village man] will come…" (Tamansourt, 01/26-152, 2019). Not being able to maintain and renovate their houses has made residents feel disconnected from the new town being built around them. Their alienation is described by an original *douar* resident in the following quote:

> What *medina*? The *medina* is for those who work in Marrakech and bought [purchased] here [in
> Tamansourt]… but for someone over here who is not working it's not [a *medina*]… for the ones

who are just sitting in the douar [Douar Ait Ali] it's not a medina… the ones who bought yes… but us who live here… it's still informal… we are surrounded by buildings… (Tamansourt 01/26-152, 2019)

Some residents also claimed that while the serviced plots surrounding the *douar* were being sold, the apartment buildings around Douar Ait Ali were difficult to sell because they overlook an informal *douar*. As one woman questioned "would you want an apartment where you open the window and see in the middle a douar and trash… you will not be encouraged [to buy/live there] …" (Tamansourt 01/26-157, 2019). As shown in the map, Douar Ait Ali is predominantly surrounded by serviced plots. However, the apartment buildings on the north and eastern areas reach about five to six floors high.

One of the effects of new development on Douar Ait Ali relates to drinking water. As construction and infrastructure work intensified around the neighborhood, their well water became contaminated. At the time of my fieldwork (2019), some residents claimed that they have been knocking on the doors of neighboring plot owners to fill up large bottles of water for drinking, especially in the summer when the water has an unbearable odor (Tamansourt, 01/26-157, 2019). One man reflected on the water situation before development:

Before we used to drink it [the well water] and we used it for cleaning and everything… we used to drink then… before the sanitation pipes..." but "now that there are sanitation pipes, the well water absorbs from around the pipe… if I bring you a cup of water… you can't drink it… you'll get sick… (Tamansourt 01/26-155, 2019)

As a result, many rely on neighboring serviced plots, most of which are still under construction, for drinking water. In Douar El Harmel (Tamansourt), a woman related "we walk all the way to Jowamiya [nearby housing development] to bring water…" (Tamansourt 02/28-219, 2019). Both Douar El Harmel and Douar Ait Ali in Tamansourt do not have public water fountains. In other *douars,* the commune usually sets up a public water "fountain" for residents to fill water from. In Tamesna's Douar Sodea, for example, residents form a line with their wheelbarrows and water bottles and a public employee fills up their buckets with municipal water and residents pay by the gallon. (See Figure 7-60 right image). In the

case of Douar El Harmel, and other *douars* that need to be demolished, water and electricity are often the two services municipal authorities use to pressure people into moving.

My visits to other *douars* surrounding Tamesna and Tamansourt were also very informative and provided context for understanding some cultural practices that were hard to replicate in the new town. Visiting a *douar* in the outskirts of Tamansourt, I was able to witness how its residents were self-sufficient and relied mostly on resources within their community. As part of the traditional Moroccan hospitality, we were offered a midmorning snack: bread with olive oil, olives, and butter. The olives and olive oil were both products of the family's olive grove. The butter was a product of the few cows they had roaming, while the bread was made using wheat grown in their fields and baked in a wood-fired oven. The family oven was lit with wood from their olive tree grove and was used to bake bread, heat a pot of tea, and heat the family *hammam* simultaneously. (See Figure 7-67). The family was able to quickly offer us a snack that did not add any cost to them and did not require outsourcing anything. This experience with the culture of Moroccan hospitality helped me understand why many residents in the new towns complained about their lack of ability to host unexpected guests or neighbors. In *douars,* like the one we visited, people always had some homemade/homegrown snack they could serve to unannounced visitors, whereas in Tamesna and Tamansourt, one would need to run quickly to a convenience store to get a bottle of jam, stick of butter, olives or even some ready baked bread. Many modest-income families do not have the means to shop in bulk and therefore rely on small convenience stores (See Figure 7-66), whether they live in a city or in a *douar*. In Tamesna and Tamansourt, many affordable housing complexes did not yet have convenience stores operating. The lack of access to convenience stores was cited by residents as an added hardship they experienced upon moving to a new town. Without access to convenience stores residents in Tamesna and Tamansourt were not able to maintain their culture of hospitality and openly welcome neighbors or guests.

Figure 7-61. Map showing Douar Sodea's location in Tamesna. Source: Google Earth Images 2020 modified by author to highlight informal settlements in Tamesna.

Figure 7-60. Left: Image from Douar Sodea looking towards Tamesna. Right: Woman filling up water from a public water source. Photograph by author, November 29, 2018.

Figure 7-63. Map showing two informal settlements within Tamansourt's boundaries. Douar El Harmel (left) and Douar Ait Ali (right). Source: Google Earth Images 2020 modified by author to highlight informal settlements in Tamansourt.
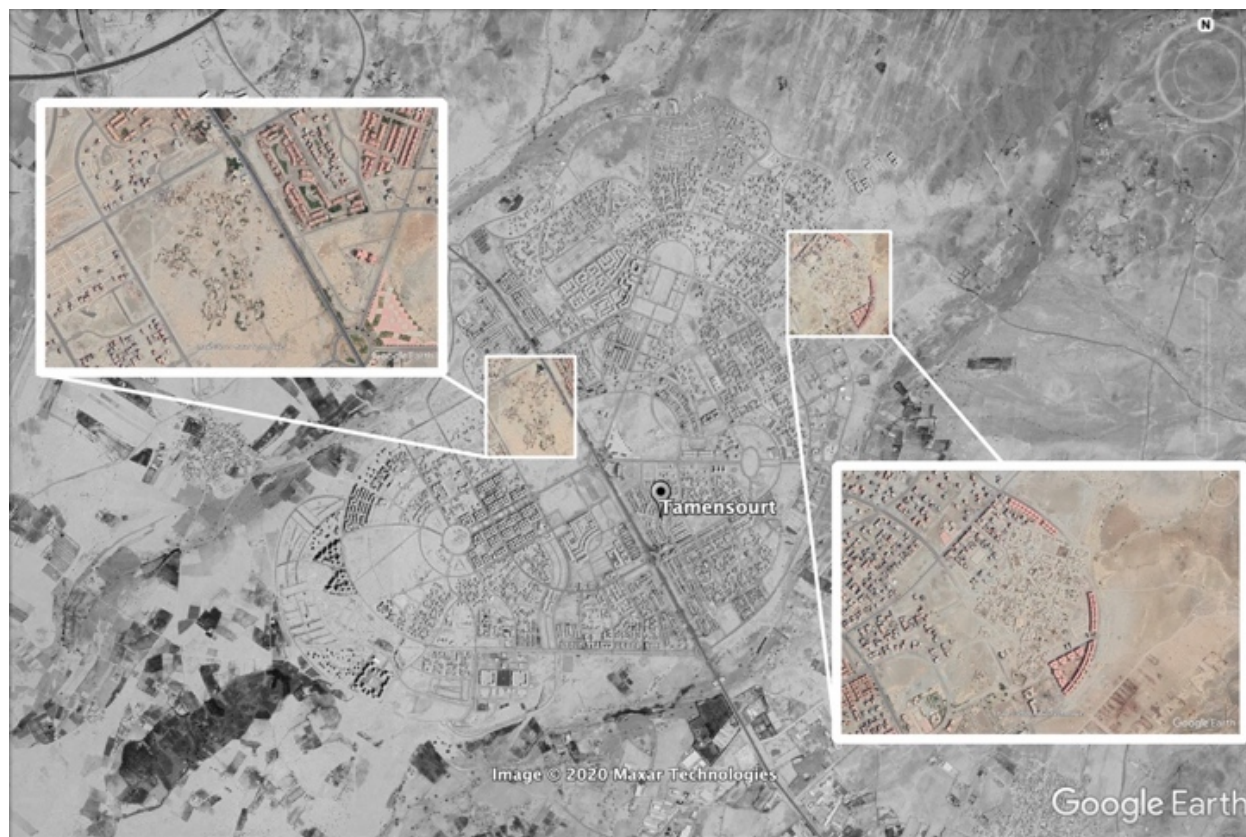
Figure 7-62. Douar El Harmel in the center of Tamansourt. Photographs by author, Feburary 28, 2019.

Figure 7-64. (1) Kitchen space in an informal house in Douar El Harmel, (2) Wood-fired oven, (3) Living room space (4) Kids' bedroom/extra sleeping space. Photographs by author, Feburary 28, 2019.

Figure 7-65. Top: Paved road with informal houses on the left and a newly built women's training center on the right. Bottom: Paved roads as part of Douar Ait Ali's in-situ upgrading plan. Photographs by author, January 26, 2019.

Figure 7-67. (1) Olive tree grove in the background, tree branches gathered for lighting wood-fired oven. (2) Family oven with a teapot nook on top located adjacent to the family hammam to heat it simultaneously. (3) Olive oil, olives and butter offered as hospitality during interviews at a *douar* north of Tamansourt. Photographs by author, March 7, 2019.

Figure 7-66. Sugar sold by the gram and wrapped in a paper torn out of public-school history textbook at Douar El Harmel in Tamansourt. Photographs by author, February 28, 2019.
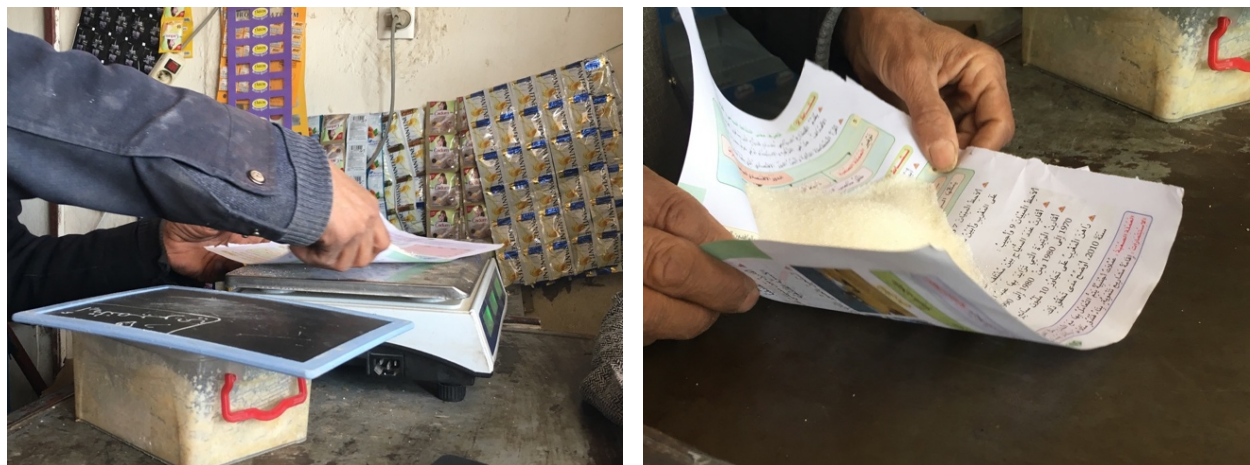
II. Surviving Disappointments: Informal Providers of Everyday Needs and Services

While the spatial adaptations described in section one focus on how residents settled into their housing structures and neighborhoods and made physical changes to the built environment to enhance their living situations, during my time in the field I found that adapting to a newly constructed environment also involved filling in service gaps. Housing was the most developed and continuously developing sector in both Tamesna and Tamansourt. Transportation, parks and recreation, public security, and other job-producing services, such as a regional hospital, university campus or industrial zone were all lagging behind. Many residents noted that housing is what is available and affordable, other necessities for urban living are lacking. In both new towns the informal sector provided a wide range of services including affordable everyday needs, means of transportation, jobs, recreation and affordable commercial spaces. Not only does the informal sector provide everyday goods and services to an isolated new town, it also contributes to the livelihoods of those excluded from jobs and services in the formal sector. I found that the informal sector in both new towns is the link between pre-existing (*douar*) communities and incoming populations, creating a relationship of mutual benefit, trust, respect, and survival. A brief description of everyday services provided in the new towns through the informal sector follows.

The Informal Sector and Activators of the New Town

The Providers of Daily Needs and a Community Core: Upon moving to the new towns people did not find a central hub or core to plug into outside of their own housing development. Rather than one coherent development, the new towns are a series of isolated housing blocks. One resident in Tamesna claimed that when they moved to the new town they found that there is "space but no place" (Tamesna 10/11-45, 2018). In both Tamesna and Tamansourt, people do not consider themselves as living in or

belonging to a cohesive city. As one small business owner who retired to Tamansourt put it "Tamansourt is not a medina[51] [city].… it's a collection of douaweer[52] [neighborhoods]" (Tamansourt 02/07-7, 2019).

In the beginning, residents of both new towns did not have a comprehensive commercial area and relied on weekly markets in the neighboring commune for groceries, clothing, and other needs. However, the cost of two-way transportation along with the burden of carrying a week's worth of groceries quickly proved impracticable. Over time, street vendors in Tamesna and Tamansourt appropriated the newly planned urban space to provide a robust local market. Today the market is a place for recreation[53] and the primary place residents go to for a "change of scene/air"[54]. One multi-family housing security guard described the informal market as "the only place of recreation for this [lower-income] class" (Tamesna Interview 11/29-2, 2018).

In both new towns, Al Omrane has designated a formal central market building, but disagreements and organizational setbacks have delayed their openings. Instead, the informal local market—commonly known as "*souika*"[55] in Moroccan towns—has become the center of activity, vibrancy, and jobs. In Tamesna, the souika, known locally as the "*jotiya*"[56], is located in the center of Addoha and Marina d'Or housing developments. These developments were the first to be built and occupied in Tamesna. In Tamansourt, the informal market is located around the central mosque and densely occupied apartment blocks and is locally referred to as either "*jwam'eya*" (after the private developer) or "*souika*". (See Figure 7-69). Both informal markets have been temporarily evicted or relocated several times by local authorities. However, electoral politics and the obvious benefit of the street market as a generator of life in the new town encourage local officials to turn a 'blind eye' to street

---

[51] The term "*medina*" is problematic in the context of Morocco's new towns because there is no official definition for the term in legal public planning documents. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss this problematic terminology; however, it is something we are cautious about and wish to explore further in the future.

[52] Douaweer: plural of *douar* (unregulated rural settlements).

[53] Recreation space is commonly referred to as "*mutanafas*" in the local Darija dialect meaning: a place to take a breather.

[54] Recreation space is also referred to as a place to go to for a "change of air" in Darija dialect: "*bdl jw*".

[55] "*Souika*" is a diminutive for the word "souk", hence meaning a smaller version of an outdoor marketplace.

[56] "*Jotiya*" (pronounced jo.ti.ya) is the word used in Morocco for a flea market. In Tamesna, because of the relatively small number of street vendors (compared to more established cities) the everyday informal market includes a combination of a flea market and traditional souk vendors (who sell produce, poultry, cleaning products and kitchen essentials) and is commonly referred to as *jotiya*.

markets and other informal activities. Surprisingly, many business owners who rent ground floor stores in mixed-use apartment buildings do not mind the informal street vendors because they bring business activity to the area.

The Providers of Informal Entertainment: In Tamesna, as of mid-2019, the main public park was still not open to the public and there is no clear reason behind its delay. The only space for children to play is the neighboring forest, where they collect acorns and swing on rope swings. In empty spaces around mosques, entertainment vendors set up their electric toy cars, trampolines, and manual swing carousel, charging 5-10 MAD per half hour (approx. 50 cents-$1).

In Tamansourt there are two public recreation facilities: Al Omrane Park and Al Yasmeen Park. The poorly maintained playground in Al Omrane Park is not enough to entertain the growing population. Al Yasmeen Park has two mini fenced soccer pitches, but no playground for younger children. Instead, the linear park accommodates vendors, food carts, and seating for cafés across the street. It has a series of rope swings tied onto trees throughout the park. (See Figure 7-68).

The Providers of Affordable Commercial Spaces: In the new towns, commercial stores are either too expensive to buy or rent or not feasible for some sellers who only sell modest goods such as fresh cut herbs or seasonal fruits, so they remain empty. (See Figure 7-70 & Figure 7-71). Additionally, businesses do not see profitable opportunities in the thinly populated new towns. Instead, people in lower income social housing complexes were compelled to convert part of their compact living space into stores and business to provide goods and services. Others rent their kitchen to bread and pastry makers. Some sub-rent small spaces within commercial stores. For example, in many cafés bread and pastry making booths are sub-let to women who bake bread. Other combinations could include a convenience store and a peanut roaster, or a clothing store and a tailor. This arrangement makes commercial spaces more affordable for storekeepers and gives opportunities to those who provide simple services such as skillet bread or sewing

and alteration services to safely store their equipment and benefit from store customer activity. (See Figure 7-72 & Figure 7-73).

The Providers of Informal Job Opportunities: Informal paid employment is prevalent in the new towns. Contractors, street vendors and storekeepers hire locals to guard equipment and building materials, and to deliver cylinder gas tanks, furniture, and groceries. Street vendors often pay a night guard to watch their produce tents, sewing or popcorn machines overnight. They also hire a street cleaner to clean around their space before and after market activity. Self-employment opportunities also exist for gardeners, car and motorcycle guards, housekeepers, and apartment building janitors.

The Providers of Transportation and Mobility: Informal modes of transportation such as the *treporter* (three-wheel motor) or the *khatafa* (passers-by) are the cheapest and most reliable modes of transportation available. *Treporter* drivers fill in the gap of the local (petit) taxi[57] and transport people around the widespread new towns. They take people from neighborhoods that lack amenities to those that are serviced with *hammams*[58], a clinic and grocers. They deliver furniture and carpets from local carpenters and furniture stores. (See Figure 7-75). The *treporter* can go into narrow roads in apartment complexes and stop in front of apartment building doors which is helpful for the disabled, elderly and women with children, strollers, shopping carts and hammam buckets[59]. They provide a service and help people but are risking their lives and their family's future because the 3-wheeled vehicles are dangerous and illegal[60].

---

[57] There are two types of taxis in Moroccan cities: grand taxis and petit taxis. Grand taxis offer regional transport and often have a higher capacity (6-8 passengers). Petit taxis only provide inner city transport and have a smaller capacity (3-4 passengers). While grand taxis are generally white vehicles, the color of petit taxis differs by city. For example, petit taxis in Casablanca are red, in Rabat are blue and in Marrakech are yellow. The unique color for petit taxis in each city makes it easier to identify local taxis and ensure they stay within the city limits.

[58] Hammams, or Turkish baths, are places for public bathing. They are an integral part of the Moroccan culture.

[59] In Morocco it is very common to see a group of women with their young children cross carried on their backs or walking next to them carrying buckets (to use for taking the traditional hammam), and duffle bags for their clothing, loofahs, combs, and toiletries.

[60] Three-wheeled motors (*treporter* vehicles): are meant for transportation of goods and it is illegal to transport people in them.

Additionally, the *khatafa* provide carpool services to employees who work in the same area. One resident asserted: "if it weren't for the *khatafa* people would remain here [in Tamansourt]" (Tamansourt Interview 03/09-10, 2019). In a large urban development with no reliable transportation and no emergency room or labor and delivery services, people without cars also rely on the *khatafa* to transport women in labor to city hospitals.

The Providers of Informal Amenities: Informal amenities do not necessarily develop because of the lack of formal amenities. For example, in Tamesna an informal soccer field is located across the street from a gated public sports amenity center. Although sport centers are government-owned, the courts are not free for the public. Because of financial difficulties, many of Tamesna's residents are unable to pay the entry fee regularly, instead they use empty land on which future development is planned[61]. In both new towns, undeveloped land provides a space for temporary informal soccer fields. However, this space is not fenced and organized and is, therefore, shared by different users. One local coach in Tamesna explained:

> Sometimes you come here and you see a heard of sheep grazing, you need to wait for them to finish, sometimes you see kids playing, sometimes you see a family relaxing on a picnic blanket, you can't tell them to move, because this is not a field it is empty public land… When it is Taboriida[62] season we come and find horses and knights practicing and playing drums everywhere. (paraphrased from Tamesna, 11/15-5, 2018)

Additional informal amenities include temporary mosques. There are five actively running in Tamansourt. (See Figure 7-74). In terms of their physical nature, they range from aluminum structures, to semi-built brick and mortar structures. They appear because scarcely scattered neighborhood mosques are too far for worshipers to walk to especially for sunrise prayer. Even though there are mosques planned for each neighborhood, many have not yet been constructed. Informal mosques give men who are normally

---

[61] The entry fee for public courts can be arguably considered affordable, however for families who have several closely aged children, the fee becomes difficult to accommodate regularly in their limited incomes.
[62] Moroccan traditional equestrian festivals

busy working outside of the new town an opportunity to meet and interact with their neighbors. Local authorities provide only "*verbal*" approval for temporary mosques to be built because there is *"no alternative"*, as one *imam*[63] and *faqih*[64] at an informal mosque in Tamansourt explained. (Tamansourt, 02/20-13, 2019).

The Providers of Safety*:* Tamesna and Tamansourt have not been assigned police because they are not yet administratively defined as urban. Currently they are serviced by the *Moroccan Royal Gendarmerie,* which are responsible for public safety and traffic order in rural areas and smaller towns. Few in number and generally focused on traffic control, the *Gendarmerie* is ineffective for ensuring safety in Tamesna and Tamansourt, which are composed of over 50,000 inhabitants each.

Grisage or robbery at knifepoint is perhaps the most widespread safety threat, especially for young girls and women coming back from high school, college, or work. Cell phones are stolen daily. When girls return from school late at night, *treporter* drivers watch out for them or offer them a free ride. The most effective form of safety and security are the informally hired night guards who guard building materials, equipment, goods, apartment complexes and vehicles. (See Figure 7-76).

---

[63] Muslim mosque worship leader
[64] Expert in Islamic law studies

Figure 7-69. Top: Informal market in Tamesna 2018, Bottom: Informal market in Tamansourt 2019. Photographs by author.

Figure 7-68. Rope swing in the forest north of Tamesna. Photograph by author, November 25, 2018.

Figure 7-70. Empty commercial stores in Tamesna (1) and in Tamansourt (2 & 3). Photographs by author, 2018 & 2019.

Figure 7-71. Empty commercial centers in Tamansourt 2019. Photographs by author.

Figure 7-73. Street vendors parallel to empty commercial storefronts in New Town Tamesna. Photograph by author, November 6, 2018.

Figure 7-72. Left: Cobbler at New Town Tamensa's informal market, 2018. Right: Tailor set up by a convenience store in New Town Tamesna. Photographs by author, 2018.

Figure 7-75. Treporters (3-wheeled motor vehicles) replace local taxis in New Town Tamansourt. Photograph by author, March 27, 2019.

Figure 7-74. Temporary mosque in the heart of a residential compound in New Town Tamansourt. Photographs by author, January 29, 2019.

Figure 7-76. Guarded motorcycle parking by Tamansourt's technical college (ISTA - *Institut Spécialisé de Technologie Appliquée*). Photograph by author, February 21, 2018

Conclusion

In this chapter I presented the ways in which different spaces in the new towns—from private property to public space—were appropriated and utilized by different groups of people (i.e., youth, men, women, etc.). Different resources (streets, trees, vacant lots, sidewalks etc.) are utilized and appropriated differently by different residents. Spaces of shared ownership are subject to privatization by residents as residents expand their storage space into the corridors, staircases, windows, balconies and eventually into the shared open and green spaces within housing complexes. The way in which Tamansourt's self service neighborhoods have materialized, in comparison to other more established areas (such as Arrahma in Casablanca and Ain Aouda), highlight the great potential for self-built plots. While apartment complexes are "complete" structures to begin with, they have only shown signs of deterioration with time. Houses built on serviced plots, while currently works in progress, have the potential to develop slowly adding rich layers of community and a sense of belonging. Finally, in both new towns the informal sector provided a wide range of services including affordable everyday needs, means of transportation, jobs, recreation, and affordable commercial spaces. The different ways of claiming, utilizing, and adapting to the built environment presented in this chapter provide great insight into understanding space in the new town with respect to the social and cultural ways of living in the Moroccan context.

Chapter Eight: Theoretical Conclusions on Morocco's New Town Policy and Suggestions for Future Research

Introduction

Just first fifteen years since the inauguration of Morocco's New Towns Program, the first two new towns to be built and occupied have become places of struggle, suffering and isolation. Tamesna became *"Tamehna"* and Tamansourt became *"Tamaqhourt"*. The portmanteau of each new town's name and a verb meaning to "suffer" that were used widely by residents in both new towns are clearly a sign of master planning once again failing to fulfil one of the main principles of planning—public interest. At the time of my fieldwork, residents in both new towns Tamesna and Tamansourt were struggling from the lack of jobs and reliable transportation to nearby cities. Both new towns were not yet defined as "urban" territories nor did they receive the treatment of urban areas even though they had collectively housed over 100,000 residents. The lack of police presence in both new developments also made them into hot spots for drug-related crime, robbery and aggravated assaults. The COVID-19 pandemic and lockdowns on both new towns confirmed the challenges and vulnerabilities residents in Tamesna and Tamansourt faced as they occupy a new town in the early stages of its planned utopia. At the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, residents in Tamesna jokingly posted on social media that "the virus will not reach us, it will not know where Tamesna is". Indeed, the average resident in Tamesna and Tamansourt often expressed feelings of isolation, living in a "semi-urban island" or a "group of neighborhoods" far from "urban civilization" (i.e., urban services). The lived experience of new town residents is far from the imaginations and intentions of planners, government officials and elite professionals who promoted the new towns as self-sufficient cities for all—following the ideals of sustainable urban development. *How has Morocco's 21st century new town experiment played out both for the planners involved and for the residents? and what can we learn from the current situation of the Tamesna and Tamansourt that can help inform future new towns in Morocco and the Global South?*

Case study research methodologies, utilized in this dissertation, allow the researcher to shed light on theoretical principles within their field of study that may warrant further exploration and explanation. Although focused on one single case, one of the main goals of my research is to "go beyond the specific case" (Yin, 1984/2014, p. 40). In this chapter I address my central theoretical question that is: *What does Morocco's 2004 New Towns Program tell us about urbanization and processes of planning in the Global South?* As a research project focused on a single case study, in Morocco, it is important to address the question "*how can you generalize from a single case?*" (Kennedy, 1979; in Yin, 1984/2014, p. 20). That is, how can I take my findings beyond the Moroccan context? How can I generalize my findings about urbanization and planning processes in the Moroccan context to the Global South? The answer provided by Yin (2014) is: to make "analytical generalizations" (Yin, 1984/2014, p. 20). Analytical generalizations allow the researcher to compare their findings to a previously developed theory (or theories) by "corroborating, modifying, rejecting, or otherwise advancing theoretical concepts" that were referenced in the case study design or by discussing "new concepts that arose upon completion of your case study" (Yin, 1984/2014, p. 41). As discussed in my methods chapter (Chapter Four), I took a more inductive approach to this research and entered the field without referencing specific theoretical concepts apriori. My goal was to avoid Western bias when assessing the planning and social implications of the New Towns Program in Morocco. In this chapter, I situate my findings based on empirical observation of Morocco's New Towns Program in the bodies of planning and urban theory literature that they speak to.

My research findings presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven have relevance for two bodies of literature and their theoretical underpinnings. The first important finding is that there is a clear mismatch between what elite professionals and local residents expect from a contemporary new town. This phenomenon in the Moroccan new towns is highly reminiscent of what Watson (2003) describes as "conflicting rationalities" where there exists a "clash of rationalities" between what is planned in a development project and what happens when a project is occupied. Section one in this chapter focuses on validations and contributions to the literature surrounding "conflicting rationalities". In addition, I present an update on the new town's recovery plans and efforts being made by planners to rejuvenate the

implementation and development of Tamesna and Tamansourt which offer further empirical evidence to the notion of conflicting rationalities. The second important theoretical finding is that the informal sector and the informal markets in particular are one of the key contributors to the progress and development of new towns Tamesna and Tamansourt. This is a significant finding because informality is generally considered an antithesis to planning, especially to new town and master planning. As such, my research also contributes to the large set of theory around informality as a way of producing urban environments (Roy & AlSayyad, 2004). Section two situates my contributions to the urban informality literature and focuses on presenting the informal markets under Asef Bayat's (2008) idea of "quiet encroachments". In the third section, I review my research findings such that to answer a contextualized version of the fundamental urban studies question that is "*what constitutes the urban?*". I focus on answering the question "*what constitutes a new town (medina jadida) in contemporary Morocco*" based on the perspectives of its everyday residents. This section aims to close the gaps between what constitutes a new town professionally, for planners, and what does so socially, for residents and everyday users of a master planned utopia in the Moroccan context based on empirical findings from this research. By doing this, my goal is to take up Watson's (2003, pp. 403–404) call for the urgent need for "planning theorists to think further on the issue of planning in a context of conflicting rationalities" by returning to concrete, context case study research as a way to move planning theory forward. The final section of this concluding chapter is reserved for suggestions and directions for future research.

I. "Conflicting Rationalities"

<u>Watson's theory on "Conflicting Rationalities"</u>

Planning theorist, Vanessa Watson (Watson, 2002, 2003, p. 396) has argued that while contemporary planning theory has attempted to acknowledge context-related diversity, social difference and multiculturalism, the desire to produce "normative theoretical positions" that can be generalized for

planners to use in practice persists. She argues that such theories are "still unable to comprehend the very real clash of rationalities which so frequently occurs when plan or development projects touches the lives and livelihoods of households and communities" (ibid). To provide an example of the types of "clash of rationalities" that exist between the state and its citizenry, which she argues is a common phenomenon in found in African cities, she draws on a case study of an attempted informal settlement upgrade project in Cape Town, South Africa. The state's effort to remove an informal settlement in Crossroads and replace it with formal, serviced housing came to a sudden halt due to a group of women from the informal settlements who staged a three-month sit-in at the local administrative offices. The sit-in was confronted by even harsher attempts from municipal councilors to go forth with the project since their claim to provide "better housing" was seen as legitimate. Additionally, by completing the project they would be considered "effective councilors, worthy of reelection" (Watson, 2003, p. 400). The rationalities of the women that were against this upgrade project were rooted in cultural, rural and traditional rationalities, while the rationalities of the state and local officials were closely linked to "the ideas of modernity and progress shaped by a Western experience" (Watson, 2003, p. 398). Watson (2003) suggests, this phenomenon seen in Crossroads is far from unique in African cities. Indeed, the case of Morocco's New Town Project echoes this claim.

The way in which the state-initiated resettlement project in Crossroads was discussed, planned and implemented were clearly driven by the state's desire to construct "acceptable housing" based on a series of assumptions that did not necessarily hold true for the local population. When the plan received push back from local residents the gap between planners' normative assumptions and the local reality was revealed. Watson draws on the post-development literature, Chabal and Deloz (1999) and Robins (2003) in particular, to argue that the rural and traditional rationalities upheld by residents of the Crossroads settlement are only irrational when attempting "to hold them against models of Western modernity, which claim a monopoly on rationality" (Watson, 2003, p. 401). The ways in which indigenes react to forces of development and modernity lead to a "fusion" of "Western modernity" and "local ways of coping" which Robins (2003) terms as 'indigenous modernities'. Rather than overlooking these 'indigenous

modernities', research that highlights the ways in which planning policies are manifested in a specific context and culture can assist planning practitioners in creating more desirable built environments in the future.

Watson's (2003) case on 'conflicting rationalities' has implications for planning theory, education and ethics. For theory, she asserts the importance of recognizing that the rationalities of Western modernity apply in varied forms within and around different parts of the world and urges planners recognize the contextual differences and focus on critically examining planning with the goal to assist planning practice instead of focusing on context-independent generalizations (Watson, 2003, p. 403). Relative to education and ethics, she urges both planning researchers and practitioners to see from the point of view of other stakeholders and to engage in what Campbell (2002) calls "situated judgement" as oppose to imposing "fixed values" (Watson, 2003, pp. 404–405). My research on the planning and social implications of Morocco's New Towns Program provides additional evidence to Watson's South African-based theory on 'conflicting rationalities' in a different context.

Rationalizing Morocco's New Towns Program

The origins of the modern-day planning profession as we know it can be traced back to the late 19th century and early 20th century when massive rural to urban migration during the industrial revolution brought chaos to the city (LeGates & Stout, 1998). The Parks, Garden City and City Beautiful Movements were all reactions to the disorder, pollution and nuisances brought by the industrial city (See Chapter Two for more on history of new towns). Morocco's contemporary new town planning program can be similarly described as a reactionary movement aimed at controlling rapid urban growth and the increase in informal settlement growth both of which are a threat to orderly development. Housing shortage and the lack of affordable housing have directly led to an increase in informal settlements in Morocco since the 1950s, as such a program that seeks to provide "100,000 new units per year" seems to be a rational solution (VNDT, 2007, p. 53). Although informal settlements were always a concern in

Morocco, recent state intervention in the housing sector and the strong commitment to closing the housing gap only became a pressing concern as informal growth put pressure not only on urban/public services and job opportunities but also on national security. The terrorist attacks initiated by Casablanca slum dwellers on May 16, 2003 quickly led to two national planning programs that sought to bring back order to the Moroccan city. While the 2003 Cities without Slums Program (French acronym - VSBP) was predominantly social and aimed specifically at clearing slums and providing aid to long term slum dwellers, the 2004 New Towns Program (French acronym - VNP) was a spatial, regional and modernist project that sought to decongest major cities like Rabat, Marrakech, Tangier and Casablanca by creating new regional areas of urban activity. The process of planning and initiating the VNP, presented in Chapter Five, highlights the different considerations and "rationalities" that went into the planning process by the Moroccan Government and elite professionals involved which were clearly guided by principles of modernist planning. In Chapter Six, I presented residents' reflections on their expectations of the new town developments, their experiences and reactions to their lived reality after occupying a newly built, master planned city. I found that there exists a "clash of rationalities" when the New Town Project as planned and imagined by the Moroccan Government and elite professionals met the lives and livelihoods of its residents and communities. Urban theorist Vanessa Watson's (2003) assertion of "conflicting rationalities" between the state and its citizenry is relevant to this discussion.

Conflicting Rationalities in Morocco's VNP

As noted above, Morocco's 2004 *Villes Nouvelles Programme* -VNP began as a modernist spatial planning policy with all the seemingly 'rational' drivers to face rapid urbanization, fulfill an ever-growing housing deficit, and create areas for urban and economic growth. However, through my empirical case research on two new towns in Morocco it was clear that there seems to be a mismatch between what elites envision the new towns to be and the actual needs and preferences of current new town residents. According to Watson (2003, p. 396) the notion of what makes an ideal community is deeply rooted in

broader theories of development and planning that focus on two purposes. First is to create an ideal, utopian and better society for all, and the second is the desire on behalf of governments to "administer, to control and to incorporate populations into municipal finance systems" (ibid). Indeed, there is a long history of political theories that encourage settlement rationalization control as a dimension of public housing policy (J. C. Scott, 1998). Spatial organizations have also been utilized as a means to facilitate social control (cf. the work of Albert Speer Hitler's Architect, see also Foucault's Panopticon and Lynch's concept on visibility). Planned development, in contrast with organically built medieval cities and medinas, is an attempt at making society more legible, easier to control and manage (J. C. Scott, 1998, p. 53).

The VNP program was established based on a series of "assumptions" which as Watson (2003) points out, are typically implicit to the ideologies of modernist and utopian development. For example, that occupants of the new towns would be from stable, nuclear families, would have a desire for homeownership, accept shared (apartment) living arrangements, and that lower-income occupants would have a secure income in which they can afford taxes and other fees involved in ownership and that cover formal urban infrastructure costs. These assumptions are not always necessarily accurate. This is especially true in the case of Morocco's new towns, which were planned for a non-existent population and so the assumptions made were far from the local reality. Though some of the elite professionals I spoke to had bought speculative property in the new towns, none of them currently live in Tamesna or Tamansourt. While not necessarily occupying the space, technocratic officials still maintained complete ownership over the planning process. I also found that architects and engineers involved in designing the new towns paid little attention to pre-existing communities occupying the space. During an interview with an official at the Urban Agency of Marrakech, I pointed at Douar El Harmel on a satellite image of Tamansourt to ask about how the preexisting informal settlement was being dealt with since there are people still living there in 2019, he answered with these exact words: "imagine they are not there… for me they are not there…" (Tamansourt, 03/22-271, 2019). Clearly, elites were planning and designing from their offices with complete disregard to what exists on site. Lefebvre's description of technocratic

officials in his 1971 essay Towards the Cybernanthrope [*Vers le cybernanthrope*] as "the antihumanist incarnate, a reviled man cum machine, the air-conditioned official obsessed with information systems, with scientific rationality, with classification and control" can also be used to describe the planning officials I spoke to in Morocco and tend to practically "conceive in their offices rather than occupy the streets" (Lefebvre, 1971; in Merrifield, 2006, p. 89).

The definition of a "new town" for elites, does not take the local context into consideration. As discussed previously in Chapter Five, the 1990's plan for Tamansourt was to become an industrial city. Under the 1990s plan, the existing *douar* in the central area of Tamansourt was promised restructuring in place, however when the project for Tamansourt was merged under the VNP, and it acquired the title of "*medina jadida*" [new town] so did the expectations for it to become an orderly development. "Restructuring in place" or settlement upgrading for technocratic elites was not considered to the standards of what a new *medina* should be, as one official put it:

> The vision of Tamansourt is a new town ("*medina jadeda*") so all the people here are going to become resettlement projects [i.e., will have to be resettled elsewhere], if we see its [Tamansourt's] overarching plan, we will see that Tamansourt anticipates to take in urbanization. (Tamansourt, 03/22-271, 2019)

Douars resembling the traditional Moroccan housing are not considered "urban" even when they resemble permanent built brick and mortar structures and established neighborhoods and communities. Surprisingly, even residents in Douar Ait Ali, which was in the process of infrastructural upgrading at the far east edge of Tamansourt did not favor "settlement upgrading" as a government aid solution because it did not permit them to do any improvements to their current properties. The restrictions applied to their particular *douar* led them to favor resettlement into serviced plots as an alternative that would give them more freedom to personalize their space. As one resident mentioned: how can you call Tamansourt a medina if "it overlooks this [Douar Ait Ali] informality", yet for those residents, apartments were not the solution. Her neighbor added "if we wanted apartments we would have finished paying them off by now, how long has Tamansourt been here now? 14 years or so? from that time we would have finished paying

off [purchasing] two apartments!" (Tamansourt, 01/26-156 & 157, 2019). While officials were concerned about providing streets and infrastructure that integrate the established *douar* into the more formal development of Tamansourt, residents in Douar Ait Ali preferred to be given the freedom to improve their own living situation:

> They [public officials] did not give us anything…. those streets they put here… and they left us like that… they do not let us build or fix anything… if we only moved a brick the muqadam [local public official] will come [to stop us]. (Tamansourt, 01/26-152, 2019)

In Morocco, and elsewhere, modernizing elites tend to see slums and clandestine settlements (*douars*) as unorganized and unclean. The white walls covering Rabat's peripheral slums are evidence of this determination to hide the disorderly developments alongside the Atlantic coast. Clearly, what is found in the streets "disrupt and unnerve the cybernanthrope" and their pursuit for "order and equilibrium" (Lefebvre in Merrifield, 2006, pp. 91–92). In an interview with an official at the Governor's office in Marrakech, he explained which slums and informal settlements have priority to be relocated to Tamansourt. In addition to considering the slums that are "in most danger" due to environmental and structural concerns, he added, "we look for people whose houses are bad, and creating a bad image near the medina [Marrakech], and we move them…" (Marrakech, 03/25-273, 2019).

Abstract utopias, Lefebvre (1973/2014) notes in his book *Towards an Architecture of Enjoyment,* rely on the ideals of the technocrats who want to build the perfect city by arranging pieces of the urban puzzle such as services and transportation systems in a way that represents their ideals. In the case of Morocco's new towns, what makes the new town policy attractive to planners is that it provides a clean, organized, coherent, complete and aesthetically pleasing built environment. Indeed, those were the exact descriptions used by elites when describing the motives, processes and intentions of the VNP. When asking officials why the New Towns Program was employed, in addition to the general reasons such as to control urban growth and create economic hubs, there was a unanimous understanding of new town development as a means to "clean" and modernize" the built environment. In describing one of the successes of the VNP, an architect in Al Omrane and former technical director of Tamesna explained:

It is a managed and developed zone that complies to norms, there are parks and different amenities, otherwise this would have developed into slums, so we kind of intervened and saved it from doing that especially those near Sidi Yahya that could have expanded overtime as an informal area– It is not just a mosaic of developments like Témara, Tamensa provides a vision (mosques/schools etc.). It just takes time…we succeeded in creating an organized area. (Rabat, 07/17-1, 2017)

The new towns therefore, provide a canvas for the pieces of the urban puzzle to be arranged.

One of the projects that officials in Tamansourt were proud of was the installation of underground waste containers in the central commercial areas to keep trash out of sight. A public official at Harbeel Commune explained how the underground waste containers that are in Tamansourt "still have not been in any other medina, not even Marrakech" their benefit is that:

"the trash is not visible causing a bad view, and that they take up only a small space… and aesthetically… when you go through a main road, that is lively [with activity] and you see those traditional trash buckets and the smell… it does not give the medina a beauty… but those are hidden and not showing and when they are full they close, and the truck comes to empty it. (Tamansourt, 03/26-274, 2019). (See Figure 8-1).

Figure 8-1. Underground waste containers installed in Tamansourt. Photographs by author, 2019.

A second project that was highly praised in Tamansourt by elite professionals was the Jacaranda Housing Development, an energy efficiency pilot project built in partnership with France and the European Union under the approaches of sustainable development and energy efficiency (Marrakech, 01/23-150, 2019, Tamansourt, 02/28-223, 2019, Tamansourt, 03/28-283, 2019) (Al Omrane Tamansourt, n.d.). (See Figure 8-2).

Figure 8-2. Jacaranda Energy Efficient Economic Housing Pilot Project in Tamansourt, Source: Al Omrane Presentation.

The priorities and scale of needs for elite professionals and public officials was different than the priority for the average resident. In Tamesna, officials commended the 13-hectare park in the center that would provide an adequate amount of open green space to balance with the ultimate population density of

the new town and the grand mosque that would hold the title "second largest mosque in Africa". Both the park and mosque in Tamesna were not yet open to the public, and the projects praised by officials in both new towns had little benefit to livelihoods of the average new town dweller. This phenomenon was also true for other state-initiated modernist projects. During my time in Tamesna, the country's first high-speed rail service, Al Boraq[65], was inaugurated in Rabat by his majesty the King. While the project was the first of its kind in Africa, making national headlines, for the average resident in Tamesna, the news had little significance, as one resident explained: "we only need buses, no need for a tram" (Tamesna, 10/03-28, 2018). The perceptions of connectivity and scale were different for the average resident who relied on buses and public transportation than it was for public officials who often relied on personal vehicles. Speaking with officials about the transportation crises, they seldom spoke about bus services and instead focused on infrastructural projects such as highways and a future tram system for the new town. Residents in reality, needed more immediate solutions. When explicitly asking officials about the situation with buses and public transportation, they responded in numbers, citing the number of bus routes servicing each new town. For residents, the frequency, efficiency and reliability of the bus service were the most important factors when discussing the transportation crises.

What forms a city for planners and public officials is based on their knowledge about urban infrastructures, urban form, and a checklist of the services that need to be provided, whereas for the majority of lower-income residents access to jobs was the number one concern and reason to be in a city. Although the vast majority of elite interviewees I spoke to discuss the New Towns Program as a regional/territorial development program that seeks to absorb population growth in major cities, the strategies employed are inherently "a-spatial" as Doreen Massey (2005) would call them. They are political and aim at doing things to achieve numbers for example, number of cities slum-free, number of new units built annually, number of loans given out etc. Praising the New Towns Program's efforts, officials generally use quantitative indicators. "We [Al Omrane] manage around 130 plots in Tamesna.

---

[65] Al Boraq TGV project was inaugurated in Rabat on November 15, 2018

We have 45-47 partnership contracts and have provided over 40,000 housing units so far" (Tamesna, 07/17-2, 2017). When acquiring for statistics about the population of Tamesna and the number of residents from each socio-economic bracket, an Al Omrane official claimed they do not have such information, instead they offered numbers of units available to serve populations of each socio-economic group:

> No… but maybe we can tell you the percentage of housing… but population no… the amount of housing can give you similar information… in the Program [plan for Tamesna] Tamesna should have 50,000 dwellings… 20% of which are for those with special [financial] needs for rehousing (relogmonet), 50% for middle income… and the rest is different classes, like villas etc. (Tamesna, 11/28-126, 2018)

While residents view private developers as having failed to fulfil the Government's intention of providing "decent housing" and accuse them of only working towards their own economic benefits (using the Darija expression: "*zawq tbe'*" which means "decorate to sell"). Officials praise the role of the private sector in achieving the Government's vision. In an interview with the director of Marketing at Tamesna he described how public-private partnerships were effectively utilized as part of the State's strategy leading to development progress in the new town. The involvement of private sector developer partners was highly praised by elite professionals because it helped the new towns develop quickly and provide large numbers of housing units to fulfil the policy goal of 100,000 new units per year, as one official in Al Omrane mentioned: "60-70% of the new towns are realized by PPPs" (Rabat, 07/17-1, 2017).

The definition of "decent housing" also differed for different stakeholders. There is a clear mismatch between elite views of housing developments as a technical structure, and residents' views of housing developments as functional spaces. *Douar* residents I spoke to both in and around Tamesna and Tamansourt made it clear that apartment living was not the definition for "decent housing". Article 31 of the 2011 Moroccan Constitution that aims to ensure the "right to decent housing" for Moroccans clearly has a different interpretation for different stakeholders. In terms of apartment living, a longtime resident of a *douar* in Sidi Yahia Zaer by Tamesna explained:

> For me I will never like to live in an apartment to look down from above, [it is] like a cage… a pigeon cage…let the people who like living there [in apartments] come to live there… and to look down from above… (Tamesna, 11/18-92, 2018)

A beneficiary of an affordable housing apartment in Tamesna also mentioned: "I have three boys [young men] and they want to get married, but they [the government] confined us like pigeons (in Darija: *sido 3lyna b7al el7mam*)" (Tamesna, 11/28-134, 2018). Had they stayed in a *douar*, they could purchase a small lot within the settlement or divide the space they had to provide a single room for each of their sons, the kitchen and other facilities would be shared amongst all. Both examples speak to Watson's (2003) explanation of how "rural and traditional rationalities" are often overlooked by officials who make assumptions. For officials in Morocco, the ideal housing situation means each nuclear family has their own two-bedroom apartment with a kitchen (in Darija: *cusina*), bathroom (*hammam*), and living room (*salon*). Irregular incomes meant such apartments were hard to maintain especially by those with modest incomes who had to pay loans, taxes, and fees for urban services and homeowner's associations. In the *douar*, one resident explained:

> The people here [in the *douar*] if they work they work only 4 months per year, they live well. It is not like in apartments, how can we pay for electricity and water and the credit [loan] every month? This person [the apartment owner] cannot afford to get sick, or if his wife or his kids get sick one day. It is hard. It is better here [in the *douar*]. I can spend 500MAD a week on my kids and I am comfortable. (Sidi Yahia Zaer, 11/22-101, 2018)

Officials I spoke to view apartment living as a form of modernization and an ideal for housing and development; often times citing the French experience of post-war housing modernization. Modernizing elites have hope that former *douar* residents will become accustomed to apartment living, as one official in charge for research and programming in Al Omrane Marrakech put it:

> What is happening to us now… this happened in France after the war… people come [to apartments] and find the bath tub they did not know what it was for… they plant potatoes in it…

they did not know… this is just mentality it will change with time… (Marrakech, 01/23-150, 2019)

In the case of Moroccans transitioning from traditional *douar* settings to apartment living the assumption is that with time people will get used to the new living situation he explained:

Before they were living there [in *douars*] and then you provide them with apartments... and there are people above them and below them… and they do not know how to walk slowly without making noise… so they cause noise on those below them…this 'shared housing' is still a culture that they do not have… everything in the beginning takes time…" (ibid.).

The experience and rationalities of former *douar* residents who were forcefully relocated to apartment housing does not seem in line with the officials' hope that people will "adapt with time". Some residents had to split their families leaving some of their children to stay with relatives, due to the lack of space in an apartment to accommodate siblings of different gender. Two bedrooms in an apartment are not enough for larger families with children of different genders and varying age ranges or for those who take care of their elderly parents and in-laws as well. In a *douar*, female siblings and cousins share a bedroom, male siblings and cousins share a bedroom, while married couples share a bedroom with their infants and toddlers. A two-bedroom public housing apartment, might seem ideal to fulfil the State's mission to provide "decent housing", however a deeper look into traditional rationalities discloses otherwise.

In addition to the physical and spatial arrangement of traditional Moroccan *douars*, former *douar* residents I spoke to often shared the same tribal origin and had community-recognized claims to the land as a key marker of belonging in their society. The "original settlers" of a *douar* neighborhood usually have family and kinship ties and can be clearly distinguished by community leaders from the "outsiders" (in Darija: *el barani*) who purchased land or housing structures from original settlers. These dynamics of land access and ownership and community belonging are difficult to replicate in modernist apartment housing complexes.

A Stratified Society and Habitus

The ways in which different individuals or members of different social groups or classes perceive the world around them depends on their own experiences, culture and the systems of knowledge they are surrounded with. Bourdieu's theory on "habitus" (2008) and Janet Abu-Lughod's (1980) assertion that French colonial policies led to a highly stratified Moroccan society can help explain why there are conflicting rationalities between state officials and new town residents in the Moroccan case. Bourdieu defines habitus as "a system of *dispositions*, that is of permanent manners of being, seeing, acting and thinking, or a system of *long-lasting* (rather than permanent) schemes or schemata or structures of perception, conception and action" (emphasis in orginal Bourdieu, 2008, p. 43). Habitus is similar to the idea of "character", he notes, yet it has an important difference in that it "is something *non-natural,* a set of *acquired* characteristics which are the product of social conditions and which, for that reason, may be totally or partially common to people who have been the product of similar social conditions (such as individuals occupying petty bourgeois positions in different societies or at different epochs)" (emphasis in orginal Bourdieu, 2008, p. 45). Habitus, Bourdieu notes, "may be *changed by history*, that is by new experiences, education or training". Put simply, habitus is the subconscious way a person perceives the world, thinks and acts based on their different cultural backgrounds, surroundings, social status and knowledge resources. The misinformed assumptions made by elites are results of their individual perception of the world based on their surroundings. For example, by simply owning a vehicle one's views of the scale of Tamesna and Tamansourt and its location relative to a neighboring city such as Rabat and Marrakech are different. Officials often explained how Tamesna and Tamansourt were only 20km from nearby urban centers, a relatively short commute for someone driving a personal vehicle. For residents who rely on public transportation, Tamesna is "too far from everything… its half an hour from here to Rabat… almost 18km… and there is no [reliable] buses" (Tamesna, 09/28-19, 2018).

The concept of "habitus" was not only seen in the misaligned views of officials versus citizens, but also amongst new town residents of different socio-economic backgrounds. This is clearly the result of the highly stratified Moroccan society that resulted from French policies of "urban apartheid" which

prevented the intermixture between French "foreigners" and Moroccan "national" during the French

Protectorate in Morocco (Abu-Lughod, 1980). In the decolonization era, Abu-Lughod (1980) notes, the

dual-city created by French colonists to separate foreigners from nationals continued to exist as Moroccan

elites took over the French quarters, creating a system of urban hierarchy and spatial class segregation.

What makes the new towns attractive for residents, varied widely depending on their socio-economic

background. For higher-income residents it was the seemingly progressive idea of creating a completely

new city for the future in a quiet, and isolated area with clean air, one could compare it to the suburban

dream. One resident who bought a second home in Tamesna described his decision to move to Tamesna a

stress-reducer, describing his commute:

> When I pass the last red light in Rabat I feel relieved, when you reach the intersection between
>
> Rabat which is a heavily populated and other place [Tamesna] where there is no car traffic no
>
> lights no nothing… and you can enjoy the radio and enjoy the music that you are listening to, so
>
> from the things I feel here [in Tamesna] is that the stress in my life decreased a little… (Tamesna
>
> 11/14-84, 2018)

For middle-class aspiring homeowners it was the affordability factor driven by their desire to live "rent-

free" which was also the main strategy used by affordable housing marketing campaigns that encouraged

potential buyers to purchase their house and escape from being captives of the rental market (Darija

slogan: "*shtri dari mbqash kari*"). For lower-income residents, it was not a choice. They were either

relocated from slums to public housing complexes in Tamesna and Tamansourt as part of the Cities

without Slums slum resettlement efforts, or they were compensated for their land in semi-informal

settlements (*douars*) by the Government, also in an effort to clear valuable real estate for development.

Implications for Planning Education and Ethics

From a Western perspective, the alleged failure of Morocco's new towns is an unsurprising

replication of the failed utopias of the 20th century. The 2007 financial crises, speculative real estate

market, poor-quality mass-produced housing and delayed public services are all challenges that could be consistent with any large-scale urban development in the world. However, Morocco's new towns are not a simple replication of Western ideals. Moroccan planners and elite-professionals clearly make assumptions based on their own habitus, social and economic surroundings and knowledge systems all of which are makings of a stratified society. The social and cultural differences that exist within the Moroccan society cannot be underestimated. My findings in the case of Morocco's VNP echo Watson's (2003, pp. 403–404) call for "planning theorists to think further on the issue of planning in a context of conflicting rationalities" because clearly planners and elite professionals in Morocco, like those in South Africa, continue "to make assumptions about the values, beliefs, or rationalities of those for (or with) whom they plan, which frequently do not hold".

Planning in the context of competing and conflicting rationalities also raise issues about ethics in planning (Watson, 2003 pg. 404). From the point-of-view of the perpetrators (i.e., planners and policy makers), new housing and resettlement projects are seen as development and cleaning of the national territory. However, from the point of view of those directly affected, resettlement projects are much more personal as they involve one's home, social networks and livelihoods (Porteous, 2001). While the VNP was not intended as a resettlement project, the vast majority of its current occupants are lower-income beneficiaries of the VSBP. The ways in which the majority of current new towns dwellers have been affected by the program (presented in Chapter Six of this dissertation) which has caused inhabitants to "suffer", raises ethical concerns with the program's goals in relation to public interest. Officials describe the VNP with an emphasis on the overall image of the urban landscape and an improvement in quality of life. For development officials, houses that are "clean" and "complete" are better for those currently living in make-shift housing and squatter settlements. As the general director of Rabat-Sale's Urban Agency expressed "Imagine if there were no new towns – there would be slums". She went on to describe the program's benefits as an "improvement of one's current situation" (in Darija: *tahsin wath'*) (Rabat, 07/12-1, 2017).

Additionally, the focus on the aesthetics of the overall urban landscape is evident in an explanation of why apartment blocks were preferred by planners in Tamesna over serviced plots. An engineer at the Urban Agency in Skhirate-Témara criticized self-build plots for creating non-uniform buildings and delaying the building of the new town:

> In the beginning plots were not allowed because they [housing officials] wanted the Moroccan towns to be orderly because otherwise each one would build differently, like the paint, tiles, sidewalks… in Tamesna they thought why don't we build in a beautiful manner in a complete and coherent way… because when people take plot divisions the city will not be built up until 20 years… it will take more time… here [in Tamesna] even the housing sector will become a complete and organized sector… (Témara, 11/27-124, 2018)

While viewed negatively by technocratic officials, serviced plots were the most desired type of housing by former *douar* and slum settlers I spoke with. Plot subdivisions that I visited in Tamansourt provided the communal aspects desired by locals at the scale of traditional Moroccan neighborhoods (See Chapter Seven for more). While "incomplete" and "incoherent" from the point of view of rational elites, they were filled with neighborly and economic activity and had established businesses on their ground floors such as public ovens, children's daycare centers, tailors, and convenience stores.

Like other resettlement programs worldwide, the VNP has led to increasing inequalities. Conflicting rationalities and certain societal views of elite professionals have a clear influence on the built environment and lived experiences of new towns dwellers and contribute to socio-spatial inequality. The autonomy former *douar* owners had and their ability to live in accordance to their socio-cultural ways of life was changed upon moving to a new town designed based on the ideals of elite professionals and technocrats. While the work of planners and elite professionals is well-intentioned, their view of a 'decent' living and working environment can be very different than that of the average resident in a Moroccan new town. Planning theories that seek to create consensus between planners and people and encourage participatory efforts, as Watson (2003, p. 402) notes, exist but still do not realize the very large divide caused by the "clash of rationalities" and "differences in world-views between various parties

involved" that make it so difficult for elite professionals to overcome their "dominating rationality".

Empirical evidence gathered in the field demonstrates how new towns Tamesna and Tamansourt are the

products of a class specific habitus that continues to contribute to the ever-growing socio-spatial

inequalities within the Moroccan urban landscape and raises issues for planning ethics.

Planning education and research has the potential to change this. Bourdieu (2008, p. 45) notes

that "any dimension of habitus is very difficult to change but it may be changed through this process of

awareness and of pedagogic effort". Planning education in Morocco, as in the majority of the Global

South, is a function of architecture schools and therefore tends to be more concerned with urban design

and spatial organization than in the political and social aspects of planning. Most planners, engineers and

architects I spoke to in Morocco were graduates of the National School for Architecture (Ecole Nationale

d'Architecture - ENA), some had also obtained post-graduate degrees from prestigious universities in

France. However, Morocco is unique when it comes to planning research and training in comparison to

other areas in the Global South in that it has a specialized governmental institution for training senior

executives in urban planning. INAU[66], the National Institute of Development and Town Planning

Morocco was established in 1981 and has since carried out copious research projects with the goal of

"developing scientific and technical research" in the fields of planning and urban development (INAU,

n.d.). Earlier publications focused on the technical and managerial aspects of urban management,

territorial planning and the planning of large urban areas and new towns. More recent publications and

research has focused on social practices, participatory planning and governance as well as sustainable

development, especially with the involvement of sociologist Françoise Navez-Bouchanine (1949-2008)

whose research and teaching contributions in the Moroccan context focused on the complex relationships

between inhabitants, architecture and town planning (Navez-Bouchanine, 1997; Bekkouche, 1998). In

recent years, the INAU has "redefined" its mission to keep up with challenges and developments in the

field. In 2018-2019, INAU established a five-year bachelor's degree program (DINAU Bac +5) in

---

[66] *Institut National d'Aménagement et d'urbanisme* (INAU)

planning for undergraduates wishing to pursue a career as urban planners (source: https://inau.ac.ma/). This is a major step for planning pedagogy in MENA region that will hopefully produce a valuable precedent to other public institutions for higher education in the region.

In their article *Planning for cities in the global South: an African research agenda for sustainable human settlements*, Parnell, Pieterse and Watson (2009, p. 233) state that "planning education in Africa is often poorly developed and outdated." They urge planning researchers and educators to "formulate new approaches and ideas which are grounded in the realities of urban settlement in Africa". Their establishment of the African Center for Cities (ACC) is a step towards generating research and theoretical perspectives based on the complex lived realities and experiences of cities in the Global South (ibid). These efforts can, and they argue should, play a role in defining what is meant by sustainable human settlements in the 21st century. Parnell et. al (2009, pp. 235–236) outline five propositions for a new research agenda in the Global South. These involve (1) promoting Southern-based theoretical perspectives, (2) revisiting universal concepts of socio-economic and environmental rights for cities in the South, (3) engaging in empirical and analytical field research and comparative studies based on real-life experiences, (4) establishing a platform to share information and research on African and Southern cities and encouraging African academic institutions to do more research and produce post-graduate urbanists locally, and finally (5) acknowledging the value and need for interdisciplinary knowledge generation platforms to help solve complex societal problems based on the perspectives of various disciplines. The INAU's new commitment to creating and organizing the "urban planner" profession in Morocco through academic training and continuing education alongside their already established planning and urbanism research center, CERAU (*Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches en Aménagement et Urbanisme*), provides an opportunity for planning theories and research on Moroccan cities to emerge.

II. "Quiet Encroachments"

The second important finding (presented in more detail in Section Two of Chapter Seven) is the role of informal, self-organized action by residents to address the shortcomings of the new town.

Residents reshape their environment and services to make the city work for them. The emergence of active daily informal markets in both new towns provided residents with a wide range of services including affordable everyday needs, means of transportation, jobs, recreation and affordable commercial spaces. This finding provides valuable insights for to the literature on urban informality in general and for Asef Bayat's theory on the "quiet encroachment of the ordinary", in particular.

Bayat's Theory of "Quiet Encroachments of the Ordinary"

Bayat (2000, 2004, p. 90) describes the silent yet powerful efforts by ordinary people to survive and improve their lives as forms of "quiet encroachment". Quiet encroachments are not defensive efforts to resist formality, nor are they social movements. Instead, they are small actions taken by different actors who have suffered lifelong struggles as members of marginalized groups such as "migrants, refugees, the unemployed, the underemployed, squatters, street vendors, and street children" (Bayat, 2004, p. 91). Just like rural migrants and squatters who encroach on private and public urban land, the unemployed encroach on public space and commercial streets. The process of economic globalization, Bayat notes, has accelerated the marginalization of these groups and hence more widespread and concrete forms of quiet encroachment emerge (ibid). Quiet encroachers and urban marginals have two main goals: (1) to redistribute social goods and opportunities and (2) to attain autonomy from the regulations, institutions, and discipline imposed by the state and modern institutions. The latter goal is harder to achieve because, while these groups seek autonomy amidst state efforts of integration, they face existential constraints such as limited skills and education, meager incomes, poor connections, and lack of organization that still require them to remain dependent on the state for security and other social goods such as schools, health services, paved roads, and public parks (Bayat, 2004, p. 98).

The quiet encroachments that Bayat (2004, p. 90) describes do not come at the expense of the agents "themselves or the fellow poor, but the state, the rich, and the powerful". The example he provides is that of urban squatters tapping electricity from municipal power poles rather than from their neighbors.

There are two political reasons governments are not able or willing to manage forms of quiet encroachments. The first reason is that many times states do not have the capacity to exercise surveillance. The second reason quiet encroachments go unmanaged is due to their dual nature. Though quiet encroachments infringe on public property and affect the order of the city, they are a self-help activity. As a result, "soft" and "vulnerable" states and local governments tend to "tacitly allow such encroachments" (Bayat, 2004, p. 95). The two reasons are true in the case of informal markets that have been quietly encroaching on the public streets of Morocco's new towns. The informal markets act as both a mechanism of self-help and aid the development of the new towns in their early years of establishment.

Quiet encroachments are not only exercised by the poor and underprivileged, state employees and professionals also exercise different forms of quiet encroachment in order to supplement their incomes. Examples include illegal private teaching by school teachers in Egypt and "street lawyers" or "unregistered practitioners" who acquire legal knowledge by working in law offices and then share their knowledge with new law professionals at a lower cost (Bayat, 2004, p. 92). While these types of quiet encroachments have little political meaning initially, it is no surprise that they might become sources of conflict between encroachers and the state as time goes by. Bayat (2004) identifies the "streets" as a place where this conflict is most evident. Streets are the only places where urban marginals can perform their everyday functions, such as making friends, earning a living, spending their leisure time, and expressing discontent (Bayat, 1997, 2004, p. 96). Streets as public spaces become political sites because while officials want to regulate their use and make them more "orderly", expecting citizens to occupy the spaces passively, active use of the space challenges officials' expectations of order (ibid). Bayat (1997) also claims streets operate with "passive networks". Street vendors, for example, while each operating individually are parts of a "passive network" that can communicate and act collectively if confronted by a threat. This concept also holds true in the informal markets in Tamesna and Tamansourt. While both

informal markets were not organized through any form of collective union[67], when occasionally

threatened with eviction from local authorities, vendors communicate quickly and relocate their market

temporarily. According to street vendors in Tamesna, authorities come to vacate the area whenever higher

government officials are visiting. Vendors are only kept off the streets for days or up to one week before

coming back. "It happens everywhere not just here [in Tamesna] … even in Rabat", one interviewee

observed (Tamesna, 10/27-61, 2018).

In his writings on "quiet encroachments" and "street politics", Bayat (1997, 2004) draws on

examples based on his observations of cities in the Muslim Middle East, such as post-revolutionary Iran,

Cairo, Alexandria and Beirut. However, he believes that the concepts have relevance for understanding

other postcolonial cities in the "Third World" (Bayat, 2004, p. 81). Both informal markets I observed in

two of Morocco's contemporary new towns—the *jotiya* in Tamesna and the *souika* in Tamansourt,

resemble forms of what Bayat (2004) calls "quiet encroachment" and can be viewed as empirical

evidence of this model. Bayat (2004) suggests that encroachments on public streets, in particular, cause

conflicts not only between actors and the state, but also real estate owners, merchants and shopkeepers

who may lose business opportunities to informal vendors and encroachers. I found that this suggestion

does not hold true in the case of Morocco's new towns—at least at this stage of their early development.

Various formal shopkeepers with whom I spoke mentioned that they are not bothered by street vendors

lining up parallel to their formal stores on the commercial streets. The economic activity brought by street

vendors also helps formal shopkeepers stay in business. In some cases, formal shopkeepers also sublet a

small area at the entrance of their store for an informal vendor who offer complementary services.

Examples include a formal convenience store with an informal bread vendor or a peanut roaster, or a

formal dry-cleaning business with an informal tailor and alterations businesses set up by the door.

---

[67] In Tamesna there were attempts at creating an informal association for street vendors in the *jotiya*, but they had not come to agreement.

The Role of Quiet Encroachments in Morocco's New Town Settlements

People who purchased an affordable dwelling in one of the many housing complexes in Tamesna and Tamansourt were often presented with rendered images of the complete development surrounded by all the necessary public services (mosque, school, clinics, parks etc.) as imagined by planners, architects, and public officials. Arriving in the new towns, this was not the case. Commercial stores were empty, important businesses such as *hammams* (public baths) and *farrans* (public ovens) were not yet established, there were no jobs, and public transportation was not reliable. Early new town settlers were stuck in the planning process. Instead of occupying the established new town they saw on paper, they were trapped in a moment of time far from the ideal image they expected to find. Many residents I spoke to had come to terms with this reality "[Tamesna] will not get better now, until the future…" one resident acknowledged (Tamesna, 09/28-19, 2018). Similarly, a resident in Tamansourt told me, "Tamansourt is good (in Darija: *zwena*) … it has a future, it just needs to be given some care and attention" (Tamansourt, 03/03-229, 2019). Many claimed that by making the choice to move to a new town, they have "invested" in their children's future (Tamansourt, 02/02-170, 03/09-246, 03/14-259, 2019) (Tamesna, 10/26-61, 2018).

Both residents and planners agreed, Tamesna and Tamansourt had all the potential to become cities in the future, the cities just need time. A storekeeper in Tamansourt's phase 8 noted: "from now until the future it [Tamansourt] can become a medina", and a plot owner in phase 2 also acknowledged "it [Tamansourt] is a medina of the future. It is a medina in terms of the streets, they are big streets, but it needs some time." (Tamansourt, 02/16-193, 03/03-231 2019). All the necessary urban infrastructure was indeed laid out and installed—residents had access to roads, electricity, water, internet and sanitation. What they did not have immediate access to was grocery stores, household essentials, fresh produce, meat, poultry and eggs, a tailor, and clothing stores. Street vendors and informal service providers in both new towns quickly filled this void creating an active and centralized hub for people to find their everyday needs, meet, earn a living, and spend their leisure time. By fulfilling the everyday needs of new town residents, street vendors provide an immediate benefit through individual action.

The two political reasons governments are not able, or willing to confront forms of quiet encroachments mentioned by Bayat (2004) listed above apply in the case of Tamesna and Tamansourt. As stated previously, both new towns are located in rural communes and therefore do not yet have the capacity or adequate expertise to manage a growing urban area. Both new towns are still managed by a "rural" commune and do not yet have police presence[68]. The members of the Royal Gendarmerie that manage the security in both new towns are few in number; they do not have the resources to regulate and monitor the informal markets regularly. It will take time for the local rural management system to adapt to the demands of managing an urban area (i.e., frequent trash pickup services, policing, public transportation, street lighting and management of public spaces, parks, and playgrounds). Additionally, local electoral politics play an important part. In both Tamesna and Tamansourt, street vendors acknowledged that local public officials will often turn a blind eye to encroachments on public space during election season but come back with efforts to remove the informal market post-elections. The second reason local officials are not willing to manage the informal activities in the new towns is that they are a "self-help" activity. Until Al Omrane, the new town developer and manager, and the local communes provide the space for an outdoor market or a formal market structure, state and local officials again turn a blind eye towards the vibrant and much needed informal markets in Tamesna and Tamansourt. While street vendors and informal service providers occupy public spaces and infringe on formal businesses, they do not provide crucial public services such as health care and education. In Morocco, moreover, they bring some form of security (in Jacob's (1961/2011) terms "eyes on the street"), as well as street cleaning and local transportation. They are a viable resource for new town residents and local governments alike.

Bayat (2004, p. 95) notes that by the time different forms of quiet encroachments have expanded and by the time their growth passes beyond a tolerable point, "the state may be expected to crack down". However, in most cases, he adds, crackdowns fail because it has become too late. In both Tamesna and

---

[68] Police entered Tamesna and Tamansourt at the time of this writing (February 2021).

Tamansourt, construction of a formal market structure is underway. However, the informal street vendors I spoke to did not necessarily want to relocate into the formal market building. The cost of purchasing or renting a shop in the market might not be feasible for all types of vendors. For example, while those who sell clothing, cleaning supplies and kitchen essentials need larger display areas and may afford the rent, vendors selling fresh herbs like parsley, mint and cilantro or soaked chickpeas often times will not need the space, nor will they be able to afford the rent. A return to Tamesna and Tamansourt after the formal market structures are open and operating will be necessary to provide more insight on how "quiet encroachments" in modernist new towns are dealt with by local authorities once the town has matured. Will informal street vendors persist? If so, will they be the target of a "crackdown"?

Quiet Encroachments: Survival or a "way of life"? The Urban Informality Literature

The informal markets in both Tamesna and Tamansourt are not forms of resistance to formality and modernity imposed by government policy, instead they are simply efforts driven by "the necessity to survive and improve a dignified life" (Bayat, 2004, p. 92). One the one hand, these types of quiet encroachments exist in all cities in Morocco and are clear evidence of the highly stratified postcolonial society and the urban marginals it produced. On the other hand, they are simply a culture that stems from the ways in which the Islamic city has shaped the medieval medinas in Morocco. (See Chapter Three for more).

The emergence of informal structures is commonly described in the literature on urban informality by two conflicting arguments. The first explains informality as a coping mechanism and a method for survival. This argument presents informality as an indicator of poverty and a response to the lack of job opportunities and poor access to resources (de Soto, 1986/2002, 2000; Hall & Pfeiffer, 2000; Soliman & Soto, 2004). Contrary to those who associate informality with impoverishment and survival, the second argument claims that informality is not necessarily a mode of survival or an indication of poverty – but perhaps a product of state regulation or merely a "*mode* of urbanization"(emphasis in

original) (Roy & AlSayyad, 2004; Roy, 2005, p. 148, 2009a, 2014). Portes et al. (1989, p. 13) claim that

we can only speak of an informal economy in the presence of a formal one—this argument suggests that

we can only speak of urban informality in the presence of formal regulation (Roy, 2009a; Harris, 2018).

Harris (2018) claims that any regulation or lack thereof is what determines the "degree" and amount of

urban informality at any given place or time and suggests we categorize different modes of informality on

a spectrum from latent informality[69] to dominant (normalized) informality. By recognizing that poverty

and informality are not synonymous, this view of informality as a mode of urbanization encourages policy

makers to learn from existing informal structures and come up with interventions that are more consistent

with local needs (Roy, 2009a; Berner et al., 2012).

The literature on urban informality has also been criticized for primarily dealing with two sectors:

housing and land. Roy and AlSayyad (2004, p. 5) argue that urban informality goes beyond these two

sectors and is embedded within the fabric of urban life. They define urban informality as "the

manifestation of informal processes in the urban environment" (Roy & AlSayyad, 2004, p. 1). While

urban informality is not new to the Global South, the current phase of globalization and liberalization in

the region, they argue, intensifies the realities of these geographies and practices (ibid, p. 2). The rise and

intensity of the formal sector leads to a "re-emergence and retrenchment of urban informality as a way of

life" (Roy & AlSayyad, 2004, pp. 2, 5). Following Roy and AlSayyad's (2004) framework, emergence of

informal markets in formally planned new towns Tamesna and Tamansourt should not come as a surprise.

The culture of outdoor markets (*souks*) and flea markets *(jotiya)* is widespread in other Moroccan cities.

In fact, for a place to be effectively considered a "*medina*" or "urban" by locals, it must have a daily *souk*.

Weekly souks, on the other hand, are reserved for rural areas. Still, not surprisingly, the informal markets

in Tamesna and Tamansourt immediately stand out as they are juxtaposed next to an array of new and

monotonous building structures, with the markets being criticized by elites for not adhering to their vision

---

[69] Harris (2018:276) describes latent informality as "highly visible, but at the same time open to debate".

for a new and orderly urban development. The very notion of "informality" as Roy and AlSayyad (2004) have argued has become more visible under conditions of globalization and adjacent formalization.

The discussion on urban informality and "quiet encroachments" also has relevance to the earlier finding on "conflicting rationalities". Conflicting rationalities based on the different habitus of residents and officials also influence the ways in which the informal markets and activities are observed, experienced, and dealt with officially by local authorities. While elite professionals and upper-class residents I spoke to often view the informal markets in Tamesna and Tamansourt as unorganized, crowded, and unpleasant, one upper-class interviewee acknowledged: "it [the informal market] is a culture. Go to any medina in Morocco… there is no medina without jotiya [informal flea market]." However, he added, "if the *jotiya* [informal market] was more organized it would be better…" (Tamesna, 11/14-84, 2018). In Tamansourt as well, the vice president of Harbeel Commune, critiqued the informal market because "there is a lot of people and sellers and it creates a kind of crowding and also an unpleasant scene, and trash and such" (Tamansourt, 03/26-274, 2019). To solve the problem of having an informal and unplanned market, both Al Omrane and the local communes in which Tamesna and Tamansourt are located are eager to provide a market structure that will accommodate the current informal sellers. The vice president of Harbeel Commune explained the urgency of a market structure:

> …so we can maintain the beauty of the medina and also provide them [street vendors] with a dignified place for them to do their jobs and what they do for an occupation (in Darija*: mhna*) in an organized and legal way… and their products would be in a safe place… that is why we are working on the central market project (in Darija*: souk mrkazi*). (Tamansourt, 03/26-274, 2019)

While public officials and certain residents of higher socio-economic statuses viewed the market as unpleasant, the average resident I spoke to typically recognized the informal market their go to place for recreation, a fresh air, and a change of scenery. In the Moroccan urban context, informal markets are not necessarily only modes of survival but also "a way of life" and evidence of the highly stratified Moroccan society that resulted from what Abu-Lughod (1980) termed as "urban apartheid" initiated by the exclusionary policies of the French Protectorate.

Planners and policy makers in the Moroccan context must accept informality as a way of life and recognizes it as an active contributor to urban development—not just view it as a mode of survival as suggested by mainstream economic development theory (cf. de Soto 1989)(Roy & AlSayyad, 2004; Roy, 2005). Indeed, in both Tamesna and Tamansourt, the informal sector emerged to meet the demand for much needed affordable goods and services that were absent in a newly developed urban settlement. I found that what officials' term as informality in Moroccan cities is actually a system that facilitates sustainable and reliable infrastructure on the neighborhood and city level and should therefore be studied more carefully. For example, treporter (three-wheeled) motor vehicles provide local transportation within the new towns. Street sweepers hired by market vendors ensure the frequently busy streets are kept sanitary. Guards hired by street vendors to watch their carts contribute to neighborhood safety. Home-based convenience stores operating from ground floor apartment windows provide, in Jacob's (1961/2011) terms, "eyes on the street" in large housing developments. The literature on the role of the informal sector often times reduces informal activities to "survival strategies". However, Bayat (2004) argues, by seeing these activities under the framework of "quiet encroachment" one can better capture the reasons they emerge and the ways in which they work. In the Moroccan context, as will be described below, the presence of a daily *souk* is one of the main elements of a *"medina"*, as identified by a vast majority of interviewees living in Tamesna and Tamansourt. An active and lively daily *souk* has the potential to encourage more residents to settle in a new town as it provides evidence of an ideal urban life for ordinary passers-by.

III. Reflections on the Urban Studies Literature

Mainstream urban theory views urbanization as a global process that is best achieved through universal application of development processess originating in advanced capitalist countries (Sheppard et al., 2013, p. 893). However, critical urban theorists, particularly those focused on postcolonial urban theory, have in the past two decades began to advocate for a significant shift towards theorizing from the

South (cf. Robinson, 2002, 2006; Parnell et al., 2009; Ong & Roy, 2011; Parnell & Robinson, 2012; Sheppard et al., 2013; Robinson & Roy, 2016; Storper & Scott, 2016; Parnell & Oldfield, 2016).

Taking this argument further, Robinson (2006, p. 1) challenges the very notion of categorizing and labeling cities as Western, Third World, developed, developing, world or global. For urban theory to remain relevant for the majority of cities and their populations, Robinson (2006, p. 2) asserts there is an urgent need to challenge the World City paradigm, which basis its judgements and categorization of cities according to the economic ties between cities in the global economy. (For more on the World City paradigm, see Friedmann, 1986, 1995; Sassen, 1991, 2000). Instead Robinson (2002, p. 532) advocates for "an alternative urban theory which reflects the experiences of a much wider range of cities" and offers the "Ordinary City" perspective as a post-colonial framework for understanding cities worldwide. In her 2006 book *Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development,* she argues that cities and their citizens *everywhere* contribute valuable insights to urban theory (Robinson, 2006). An ordinary-city approach, she asserts, "attends to the diversity and complexity of all cities" and positions policy makers and urban managers to offer "creative and relevant interventions" rather than "copy-cat policies that aim to reproduce the experiences of cities elsewhere" (Robinson, 2006, pp. 1, 7). An ordinary-city approach values different ways of being urban and distinctive ways in which citizens contribute to urban futures through individual resources and creative livelihood strategies (ibid).

Parnell, Pieterse and Watson (2009, p. 233) and scholars at the African Center for Cities (ACC) (formed in 2006) identified an urgent need for urban scholars to formulate new approaches and ideas that are grounded in the realities of urban settlements in Africa. Ong and Roy (2011) suggest "worlding" as a theoretical framework to look at the "art of being global". Through this framework, "the city is not viewed as an exclusive site of capitalism or postcolonial activism", rather as a "milieu that is in constant formation, drawing on disparate connections, and subject to the play of national and global forces" (Ong & Roy, 2011, p. 3). Sheppard et. al (2013) advocate for "provincializing global urbanism". They present a ten-point manifesto to challenge mainstream urban theories that treat "northern" urbanization as the norm. They encourage incorporation of the expertise and perspectives of urban majorities (ibid pg.893). Rather

than taking knowledge produced in the South as "raw empirical data" that is to be made sense of by utilizing Western theories, they encourage alternative theorizations that emerge through analyzing knowledge gathered through studying "Southern livelihood practices"[70] (Sheppard et al., 2013, p. 898).

The line of postcolonial urban scholarship presented above provides valuable insights for urban planning as an applied field. Watson (2003, p. 401), asserts that once planning problems are contextualized, they have more depth and can be solved more efficiently and ethically. In her article "Conflicting Rationalities: Implications for Planning Theory and Ethics", Watson asserts that "Planning research needs to return to the concrete, to the empirical and to case research, not as a mindless return to empiricism, but as a way of gaining a better understanding of the nature of difference, and generating ideas and propositions which can more adequately inform practice" (Watson, 2003, p. 396). Watson suggests refocusing the work of planners in the Global South to both embrace Western modernity, but also involve local ways of coping (Watson, 2003, p. 401, 2009a). In keeping with the work of contemporary postcolonial urban theorists, and acknowledging that planning is an applied field, and that the goal of planning theory, as Watson reminds us, is "to assist planning practice", in what follows I utilize the raw empirical data obtained through interviews with ordinary new town residents in Morocco to answer the question *"what will it take to make a successful new town in Morocco"* in theory. I rephrase the question to ask *"what characteristics of a place make it a medina from the point of view of ordinary residents?* While the VNP was planned without a presupposed population, I hope that my empirical insights gathered from new town residents can aid planners when considering the elements that matter the most for understanding urbanization and planning processes in the Global South.

---

[70] By "southern" Sheppard et. al 2013 mean "those, everywhere, whose livelihoods have been made precarious by geohistorical processes of colonialism and globalizing capitalism" pg. 898

<u>What constitutes a new town (*medina jadida*) in contemporary Morocco?</u>

Both findings discussed above on "conflicting rationalities", urban informality and the active presence of "quiet encroachments" in two formally planned new towns in Morocco have shown how the definition of a successful or livable new town in Morocco is unique to the local culture. In what follows I present the rationalities of what constitutes a "*medina jadida*" for the typical resident in Tamesna and Tamansourt in order to showcase the value of considering the rationalities of different stakeholders and "ordinary" residents when planning a new town. I find that while professionals view the basic necessities of urban living as the key to a successful new development, for locals a new "*medina*" is more than that.

Presented with the ideal outcome of the New Towns Program through billboards, promotional materials, Ramadhan advertisements, and Al Omrane's housing exhibition (See Chapter Five), one would expect residents in Tamesna and Tamansourt to have high expectations that aligned with the constructed image of an ideal new town settlement. This is true in terms of service provision. Residents expected to have all basic urban services available to them upon moving and the lack of adequate urban services has definitely led to disappointments. However, one important issue to note is that the French term "*ville nouvelle*" which translates to the Western/European connotation of "new town/city" itself is problematic in the Moroccan context. The term is locally translated to "*medina jadida*" which means "*new medina*". Neither a *city* nor a *town* share the exact characteristics of a Moroccan *medina*. While professionals utilize the term "*ville nouvelle*", locals on the other hand, utilize the term "*medina jadida*". This meant, the lack of alignment between the two terms itself caused significant confusion in the expectations, perceptions and satisfaction of local residents. For elite professionals, the new towns Tamesna and Tamansourt and their existence as new developments is connected to the Western/European connotation of the term (i.e., post WW2 new towns in Britain and Paris). Whereas for locals, "*medina jadida*" means a "*new medina*" with similar qualities as that of the neighboring imperial cities. For residents who were relocated to a "new town", the mismatch between their expectations of a "new *medina*" and reality sparked anger and further distrust in an already existing battle of trust between the general public and elite professionals. The word "medina" holds an extremely high status for locals and much of the frustration around Tamesna

and Tamansourt was clearly due to their undeserving of the status of "*Medina*". A vast majority of

interviewees took issue with me referring to Tamesna or Tamansourt as "*medina jadida*". Upon using the

term "*medina*" I was often met with sharp critical remarks: "it still doesn't deserve to be called *medina*

Tamesna. It's a village" (Tamesna, 10/03-29, 2018), "where is the *medina*? … there is a loooong way

between this [Tamesna] and a *medina*" (Tamesna, 10/03-30, 2018), I can't say *medina*… this

[Tamansourt] is a modern village (Tamansourt, 03/14-258, 2019).

Clearly, from the point of view of locals Tamesna and Tamansourt cannot be described as urban

nor can they be compared to the (capitalized) *Medina* (i.e., Rabat or Marrakech). For locals, the standard

is not a Western ideal; it is not the urban modernity of capitalist economies. Instead the golden standard is

the medieval or traditional Moroccan city to which they are adjacent. Residents compare Tamesna to

Rabat (or Sale, Ain Aouda and Témara) and Tamansourt to Marrakech (or Mhamed). The new towns are

far from being considered a "*medina*" by their local populations. A new *medina*, therefore, has culturally-

specific characteristics that differ from the characteristics of a generic new urban development or a newly

established city or town as established by Western planning norms. Below, I present five characteristics

of a successful new town in Morocco that emerge from my fieldwork.

1. *Scale.*

A *Medina* is a place where "everything is near to you" (Tamesna 10/01-26 & 10/29-69,

2018, Tamansourt 03/13-259, 2019). Officials often emphasize that private developers were

required to provide the necessities of a Moroccan neighborhood within each housing

development. In addition to schools, those often included a *hammam* (public bath), a mosque, and

a *farran* (public oven). For locals, it was sufficient to have a *hammam* in close proximity, one

must be able to walk to the hammam with two or more children, while carrying multiple buckets

and duffle bags with clothing. It was not about having a mosque within their housing compound,

but about having a street mosque within walking distance so that men could easily walk there for

sunrise (*fajer*) prayer. A public oven, though very much needed, did not consider the fact that due

to living in multi-story apartment buildings many women either stopped kneading their bread at home because it was too difficult to carry bags of flour up multiple levels frequently, or preferred to bake their bread at home in lieu of going up and down the stairs multiple times a day to deliver and pickup their bread from the public oven that might not even be within walking distance of all apartment complexes. For locals, it was an issue of scale. In a traditional Moroccan neighborhood, individual houses were generally two-floor structures with the kitchen on the ground floor. Streets were narrower than those in the new towns allowing for much more compact development. Neighborhood mosques were small in scale and acted as gathering points for nearby neighbors.

2. **Choice.** A *Medina* offers its residents "choices". While officials often work with a check list of amenities needed within each neighborhood, simply having the basic amenities is not enough to make an urban area a *medina*. As one interviewee explained in frustration "what *medina*!! It's not a *medina* or anything, they [officials] just put housing in it! (Tamesna, 11/29-135, 2018). The lack of "choice" is often described by locals as a characteristic of rural living. People who live in *douars* (semi-informal settlements) or traditional neighborhoods do not complain of the lack of amenities. Typically, in each *douar* there is one small grocer who sells limited staple items (sugar, tea, spices, oil, eggs, crackers, and kids' snacks like wafers, yogurt drinks and candy bars). In some *douars*, there is a clothing and household goods retailer who buys blankets, pajamas, children's clothing, teacups, pots and other kitchen items from the neighboring *medina* and resells within the small semi-informal neighborhood. Having one vendor or specialty store is enough for a small, disconnected community, but not enough for a place labeled as a "*medina*". The lack of "choices" for places to go to for recreation is also considered a rural characteristic. Officials often cite the percentage of "green space" and "shared public space" in and around housing developments as the open space needed to create a balanced urban settlement (following ideals of the Garden City and Parks Movements). However, in many cases children were not

allowed to play freely in the shared spaces within apartment compounds, as one resident of a public housing development in Tamesna explained:

> They [the children] come out here to play and the neighbors complain, they say you are hitting the ball on our walls, we are getting a headache… if they play near the apartment door they chase them, if they play here they chase them… there is no place for them to play, no park nothing… there is one park near the mosque… they closed it… because they are waiting for the King to come open the mosque then they can open the park… (Tamesna, 10/11-48, 2018)

Finally, hosting guests is a big part of the Moroccan culture, more so for residents of urban areas who expect guests to stop by unannounced while en route to visit family or attend funerals or weddings. Even though housing space is tight in the *Medina* guests often spend most of their time outside enjoying what the urban area has to offer. However, in Tamesna and Tamansourt since there are not enough "choices" of places to go, residents often complained of their inability to host guests, as one resident who moved from Marrakech to Tamansourt illustrated: "it [life in Tamansourt] is not good… there are no amenities… for example if you simply have guests… you do not have a place to take them... at all!" (Tamansourt, 02/21-211, 2019).

3. **Connectivity & Mobility.** A *Medina* offers both local bus routes and "petit taxis" and is connected to other *Medinas*. When discussing the issue of transportation in Tamesna and Tamansourt, officials generally discuss intercity connectivity between Tamesna and Rabat and Tamansourt and Marrakech and cite the number of busses that serve the new town or the number of highways (autoroutes) planned to serve those new towns. This view of connectivity is problematic in that it casts the new towns as dormitory towns that are highly dependent on their neighboring metropolis for jobs and health care services. For locals, especially women and children who spend the majority of their time in the new town, local transportation is their main concern. Major cities in

Morocco generally have two types of taxis: grand taxis and petit taxis, in addition to local bus routes. Grand taxis offer regional transport and often have a higher capacity (6-8 passengers). Petit taxis only provide inner city transport and have a smaller capacity (3-4 passengers). In Tamesna and Tamansourt, there are still no petit taxis so *treporters,* three-wheeled vehicles, fill in the gap of the local (petit) taxi and transport people around the widespread new towns. When grand taxis bring people into the new towns, they are only able to drop people at the taxi point. *Treporters,* although dangerous and illegal for carrying passengers, again fill in the role of petit taxis and local buses and take people from the taxi station to their housing developments. Access to many other cities is also a feature of living in the *Medina*. Currently, grand taxis limit their trips from Tamesna, for example, to neighboring areas like Témara. If one wanted to go further, one must take transportation to Témara first before being able to travel further. A similar traveling route would be expected by rural travelers, but *Medina* dwellers are accustomed to finding more efficient alternatives.

4. ***Convenience.*** Whether formally established or informal, every *Medina* has an everyday *souk* (market). Markets in the *medinas* are located in a fixed place and open every day. Many urban dwellers in Morocco cannot afford to shop for groceries once a week and instead rely on local grocers and the everyday market for their daily needs. Rural areas, on the other hand, have weekly souks which are typically named for the day on which they fall. A comment from a resident in Tamesna clearly identifies perceived difference in market prototypes between urban and rural settings in Morocco:

> We [in Tamesna] don't have anything that people have in the *Medina* have, a place to get groceries [supermarkets] and markets [souks]… we have only [weekly] souks like rural areas (in Darija*: el badya*). We have Tuesday Market, Wednesday Market, Thursday...

Friday... Saturday Market…. we have weekly souks, not markets… (Tamesna, 10/11-48, 2018)[71]

Those who live in rural areas expect to shop for groceries once a week, whereas urban dwellers often complain that "if you go [to Thursday Market] you'll get groceries if you don't you won't…" (Tamansourt, 02/20-203, 2019). In Tamesna, until the informal market was established, residents relied on three weekly *souks* from the neighboring communes (i.e., *Souk El Sbt* – Saturday Market in Témara, *Souk El Tlat* – Tuesday Market in Sidi Yahya Zaer and *Souk ElArbea* – Wednesday Market in Ain Atiq). Even after the informal market was established in Tamesna, some people who live further away than the informal souk in Addoha Development continue to rely on the weekly markets of neighboring rural areas because in both cases they required a mode of local transportation to get to the *souk* and bring back groceries. (A treporter costs about 5MAD or so each way). In Tamansourt, as well, many people benefit from shopping at a weekly market, *Souk El Khmes* (Thursday Market) which is located by a *douar* on the route to Asfi. For those who are located at the outskirts of the new towns, their isolation and disconnection is worse than that of their rural counterparts. One resident of Phase 8 in Tamansourt complains:

> Here [in Phase 8 in Tamansourt] there is nothing at all… at least in the jwamiya [the area where Tamansourt's informal market is established] it's a little better… living in the countryside is better than here [Phase 8 Tamansourt] … at least they have a souk. (Tamansourt, 01/26-156, 2019)

In both Tamesna and Tamansourt, the plans for a formal market structure were only expedited after the high prevalence of informal street vendors highlighted the urgency and importance of an everyday *souk*.

---

[71] Note that this particular resident lives further away from the everyday market, *el jotiya*, established in Tamesna's Addoha development area, and therefore relies on the weekly souks of Sidi Yahia Zaer for groceries and other household essentials.

5. ***Belonging & Affiliation.*** A *Medina* is a place that is acknowledged nationally. The final

characteristic that makes a place deserving of the grand title "*medina*" is the sense of belonging

and affiliation to a place. Interviews with residents of Tamesna and Tamansourt revealed that

residents themselves do not yet feel a sense of pride and belonging to their new city—in large

part because they are not acknowledged and recognized by public media. Residents from both

new towns stated the lack of news coverage as a factor that further isolated them:

> Tamesna is not known as a *medina*… you will not even hear about it in the news…
>
> because we do not hear about it in the news… we feel like we do not belong to
>
> Morocco… as if we do not have a relationship with Morocco… (Tamesna, 11/24-104,
>
> 2018)

Similarly, in Tamansourt one resident expressed:

> Tamansourt is not counted in Morocco, its file is not in Morocco (i.e., not considered part
>
> of Morocco)… even in the media they pass Marrakech, they pass Casablanca, they talk
>
> about France… we never heard them say anything about Tamansourt… we watch the
>
> news and we say maybe it will show up some day… but never… its available in
>
> Facebooks, and other social media… but you will not see it in [national] television, they
>
> hide it… here a lot of incidents happened… but they did not show them… if any bad
>
> things happen [in Tamansourt] you will see them on Facebook… and any disaster that
>
> happens you will see it online. (Tamansourt, 02/20-203, 2019)
>
> A *Medina* must also have access to institutions of higher education. People often send

their children off for college in the *Medina*. Additionally, the fact that both Tamesna and

Tamansourt still did not have a "place to give birth" or a "place to be born in" further casts the

cities as backwards in comparison to their urban counterparts. A big part of living in a "*medina*"

or an "urban" area is being able to give birth in it. A common line that came up in many

interviews, especially in Tamansourt, was that "if a woman wants to give birth she needs to go all

the way to the *Medina* [Marrakech]…" (Tamansourt, 02/21-213, 2019, also see Tamansourt 01/23-146, 01/26-153, 01/29-162 & 03/07-233, 2019). This was not considered acceptable by local residents. All urban areas must have a labor and delivery ward, even if it was in the public clinic and not necessarily in a hospital.

The informal markets established in both Tamesna and Tamansourt and presented in this chapter as exemplars of "quiet encroachment", were able to satisfy some of these cultural expectations of a *Medina*. When business owners were reluctant to open businesses in the new towns prior to them being largely occupied, butchers, fish mongers, and bakers took to the streets to provide these much-needed services. In the two developments where Tamesna's *jotiya* and Tamansourt's *souika* are located, the five elements of a *medina* exist in some form or another. In fact, the majority of residents with whom I spoke who were satisfied with their decision to move to a new town, lived in close proximity to either Tamesna's *jotiya* or Tamansourt's *souika*. Of course, the informal markets are highly criticized and condemned by officials for being backward and unorganized. In both new towns, the developer (Al Omrane) has built a structured building to serve as a souk, but this will again negatively affect the streets by changing what was the only element contributing to the success of the new *medina*. The informal souk and its "traditional" character are what has begun to knit together the large development with its scattered neighborhoods and provide a uniqueness to the sterile new town. From my time in the two new towns as a researcher, but also as a participant observer, I found that planning officials in the Moroccan context have a lot to learn from the quiet encroachments in Tamesna's Addoha development and Tamansourt's *Jwameya* area. Studying these will certainly benefit the implementation of the next generation of "villes nouvelles" or "muden jadeeda" (new *medinas*) in Morocco. Quiet encroachments solve the issues of scale, mobility, choice, and convenience. However, the issue of identity still needs to be addressed by more formal solutions.

Finally, there is the question: when will the new town deserve to be granted the status of "*medina*"? On the surface it seems probably when the new town is not 'new' anymore and rather when it

is mature enough to deserve that title. In line with the discussion on conflicting rationalities, it is clear that maturity for planners and officials is measured by population density. Maturity might also mean when the plans are completed and all the checkboxes are checked. However, for ordinary residents, maturity refers to the density of activities, services, and choices that a place has to offer, as well as whether they have the ability to practice every day socio-cultural activities, such as organize funerals, hold weddings and celebrations, and host guests.

IV. Directions for Future Research

My research findings suggest two main directions for future research. The first research direction is focused on Morocco's New Towns Program and seeks to address one of the major limitations of my research design: time. The second direction for future research addresses the general need for further research on planning and the urban experience from the point of residents, specifically in the cities of the Global South, which have been neglected as foci of valuable theory production by mainstream urban theory.

Morocco's New Towns Program Over Time

One of the major limitations of this project, as acknowledged in the methods chapter, is that this research is time-bound. The data gathered captures Tamesna and Tamansourt at a certain moment in their developmental timeline. It has been only 11 years since Tamesna was constructed and 15 years since Tamansourt was inaugurated. The needs, concerns, and lived experiences of residents in the two new towns have the potential to change over time depending on the planning processes, availability of public services, grassroot activism, and other external factors, such as the presence of a global pandemic or an economic crisis.

A longitudinal research design approach would provide rich data and more detailed insights on the dynamics of living in a newly produced, rationally-planned city. There are many questions that could not be answered with my current research design and several questions that emerged from this research that require follow-up. Both the residents and elite professionals with whom I spoke acknowledged that a "new town" takes time to develop and mature. But *how much* time? The typical estimate, 30-50 years, provided by professionals and academics does not consider the grass roots efforts and "quiet encroachments" that I argue contribute significantly to the development of a new town in the Moroccan context. Revisiting the new towns once more public services and infrastructure is put in place will be useful to address this question. A longitudinal study would also help to determine how and whether police presence, a reliable bus transportation system, a formal market (souk) facility, youth and cultural public service buildings, parks, and landmark projects (such as a regional hospital or university campus) will have an impact on everyday life, safety, livelihoods and satisfaction of residents in Tamesna and Tamansourt. The living conditions for residents in both Tamesna and Tamansourt are expected to only get better, *will this expectation hold true?* What can we *continue* to learn from the current experimental new towns that can help guide future new town developments in Morocco?

Professional elites with whom I spoke also suggested that Moroccans will adapt to apartment living with time, but *will they?* During my time in the new towns, I learned that many current apartment owners plan to sell or rent their properties and return to their original housing situations. If this trend continues, and the new towns become overwhelmingly renter-occupied, the assumption that residents "will adapt" may be questionable and the idea of resettlement programs causing "domicide" might hold even stronger. One way to tell would be to document the number of owner-occupied apartment units over-time and to reassess the relationships between neighbors and their efforts to maintain shared spaces in apartment complexes. At the time of my work, when asked about neighborly relationships, many had not yet established a strong connection with neighbors or even refused to initiate friendships with neighbors because they felt the new towns were "mixed". People came from different neighborhoods and cultural backgrounds (i.e., to create a melting pot). The phrases "minding your own business" and

"closing your door" to maintain a peace of mind (in Darija: "*dakhl souk rasik*" and "*kl wahd sad babu*" respectively) were often used by residents when describing their relationships with neighbors. *Will these relationships change overtime?*

Further research into the living conditions and dynamics of different neighborhoods and parts of Tamesna and Tamansourt could also help inform planners about which housing typologies and prototypes work best in the Moroccan context. Both Tamesna and Tamansourt intend to provide three main types of housing (apartments, semi-finished villas and serviced plots) for self-construction. During my time in the field, only Tamansourt had introduced serviced plots and these neighborhoods had shown great potential. Though incomplete, serviced-plot subdivisions have the potential of reproducing the sense of community, neighborly interactions, and economic stability of traditional neighborhoods in Morocco. Revisiting the new towns, while focusing on smaller scale developments, could also prove useful both for planning and urban design professionals especially when it comes to sustainable development goals.

Finally, a longitudinal approach with several studies conducted reflecting different times in the development of a new town will help avoid bias. Both new towns are not yet fully occupied. During the time of my research, most new town residents were public housing beneficiaries and lower-income households who were relocated as part of a parallel national slum clearance program. If and when more upper- and middle-income households begin to occupy the new towns and more single-family villa neighborhoods get occupied, the dynamics of the new towns may change and the voices and concerns of newer groups that are currently under represented may provide valuable insights. Janice Perlman's longitudinal and multi-generational study of favelas in Rio de Janeiro presented in her 2010 book *Favela: Four Decades of Living on the Edge in Rio de Janeiro* is an outstanding example of the richness of long-term perspectives and the value they can hold, especially for cities in the rapidly urbanizing Global South (Perlman, 2010).

<u>Master Planned Cities in the Global South</u>

The second suggested direction for future research relates to the gap that exists in research methods used to evaluate the implementation of master planned cities. Evaluations of master planned projects, though mostly formative, tend to focus on evaluating the planning programs in relation to their pre-determined goals, which in the case of new towns were set prior to the existence of a local community. If we as planners are to plan for the future with the goal of achieving sustainable urban development, the ways in which we evaluate planning policies need to be more dynamic and allow for resident experiences to be accounted for. This means assessing the successes and challenges of programs from multiple angles. Lefebvre's Triad, used as a viewing lens in this research, was extremely beneficial for providing multiple viewpoints from which Morocco's New Towns Program can be assessed. By focusing on the lived realities of elite professionals, residents, and participant observers, one can come up with formative solutions that are based on the local reality in a given culture and context.

Over the last two decades there has been a great deal of master planned cities emerge in the Global South, many which are expected to transform the African continent over the next few decades. (See Watson, 2014 article "African Urban Fantasies" for more). I suggest that future research focusing on master planned projects pay close attention to "unofficial" partners involved in the implementation of top-down policies and programs. Understanding the urban experience from the point of view of residents is crucial for planning future (sustainable) cities, especially in the Global South where different forms of urban informality contribute significantly to the success and progress of formal planning procedures.

Conclusion

At the outset of this project, I suggested that an understanding of the lived experiences of new town residents would provide data both for contributing to the call by postcolonial urban theorists to "globalize urban theory" and for the future planning of Morocco's proposed new towns. Planners continue to look toward modernist, developmentalist and globalized solutions to local urban problems when, in reality, a lot can and should be learned from viewing cities as "ordinary" (Robinson, 2002,

2006). This dissertation aims to build on our understanding of the processes involved in new town planning and master planned cities based on Southern experiences. Indeed, much can be learned by interpreting Morocco's new towns within their own unique context. Interviews with professional elites, my own wanderings in Tamesna, Tamansourt and other urban settings on the outskirts of Rabat, Casablanca, Kenitra and Marrakech, and an in-depth thematic analysis of interviews with new town residents revealed two interesting findings. First, there exists a large mismatch in the way in which the new town concept is described and understood by elite professionals and the way in which it is understood and expected to play out by local residents. This meant that the success or failure of a new town in the Moroccan context depends deeply on the subjective interpretation of the "*ville nouvelle*" initiative itself from the point of view of elite professionals or that of ordinary residents. The second finding is that informal services presented in the form of "quiet encroachments" in the two studied master planned cities contributed immensely to their development and livability and, therefore, deserve to be studied in greater detail.

This dissertation serves to bridge the gaps caused by conflicting rationalities between what constitutes a new town professionally (for planners) and what it does so socially (for residents and everyday users). Elite professionals with whom I spoke expressed their views of what characteristics are "fit" for a *medina*, but also noted that "*there is no definition for new town… and in addition to that in the Moroccan legislation there is no definition for medina…*" (Marrakech, 03/22-271, 2019). This project can, therefore, serve as a starting point for defining "*what constitutes a new town (medina jadida) in contemporary Morocco*" based on the perspectives of its everyday residents. In order for a new town, identified locally as "*medina jadida*", to become successful from the point of view of its average resident it must live up to its labeling as a "*Medina*" in all its cultural and traditional characteristics and values. Five important characteristics of a new town for locals that were overlooked by officials were highlighted. These include scale, connectivity, choices, convenience, belonging and affiliation.

My depiction of material space in Tamesna and Tamansourt, presented in Chapter Seven of this dissertation, shows the reality of how space is occupied, utilized, and appropriated to meet the everyday

needs of the vast majority of new town dwellers in Morocco. Providing planning and policy makers with a concrete picture of how Morocco's new town developments look and function after having been inhabited for over a decade will hopefully guide and alter the assumptions being made for similar developments in the future.

Chapter Nine: The Policy Implications of Morocco's New Towns Program

Introduction

On the morning of November 27th, 2019, two teenagers were found dead at the bottom of a six-story unfinished building in a newly developed satellite town in Morocco. The new town, Tamansourt, was the first new town to be built as part of the larger government housing and development initiative that is the subject of this dissertation. Regardless of whether this tragedy was an accidental fall from the unguarded roof of a construction site or a deliberate murder, this devastating incident raises questions that planners and policy makers must seriously consider. The shocking news of the death of the two young teenagers happened just months after I had returned from gathering data in the field (2018-2019). To me, Tamansourt was no longer a location on a map, a colorful site plan drawn by engineers and planners, or the bird's-eye rendered view of a desert oasis that I had carefully studied at the early stages of this dissertation. Tamansourt is home to almost 80,000 ordinary Moroccan citizens, whose lives have been transformed by a national housing policy based purely on analyses made by top-level planning and policy officials.

Tamesna and Tamansourt are only two of fifteen new towns planned under Morocco's VNP. In the 15-years since its inauguration, these cities provide valuable lessons for the reconsidering the remainder of Morocco's planned new towns. This chapter is split into two sections. In section one, I review the current approaches taken by planning officials in Morocco to address the challenges faced in the production of Tamesna and Tamansourt. After reviewing and assessing the current approaches taken by Al Omrane and the Moroccan government, in section two I propose five principles and strategies for effectively planning and managing contemporary new towns in Morocco. These are derived from my empirical analysis of the current situation in Tamesna and Tamansourt. Although the principles are based primarily on the Moroccan experience, I hope the lessons learned could be applicable to the 148+ new towns currently under development on the African continent alone. (See Keeton & Provoost, 2019 for a full list new towns under development as of 2019).

I.   Current Approaches to Revive Tamesna and Tamansourt and Plan for Future New Towns

We have learned from research in South African cities that policy making is no substitute for planning (Parnell et al., 2009). There needs to be more concrete implementation plans, phasing, regulatory frameworks, and a focus on the provision of all urban infrastructures (i.e., water, electricity, parks, schools, transportation, etc.)—not just housing. In Morocco, Al Omrane, the entity charged with leading the New Towns Program, is focused primarily on housing and does not have jurisdiction over other important departments and actors (i.e., electricity, public works, water, schools, hospitals, local communes, and urban agencies, etc.). This led the first two new towns (Tamesna and Tamansourt) to be judged by the media, planners, and residents as failed experiments and resulted in the additional need for policy and planning interventions to boost their progress[72].

There are currently three efforts being made by the Ministry of Housing and Al Omrane to resolve the challenges faced in the implementation of the VNP, in general, and Tamesna and Tamansourt, in particular. All three are formal approaches taken by elite professionals to overcome management and delivery obstacles on the national and individual new town scale. The first initiative is to create a national regulatory framework to guide new town development in Morocco. A draft for this law has been in the making since 2010. The second intervention is the creation of recovery plans to "relaunch" the two initial new towns, Tamesna and Tamansourt (in French: *Plan de Relaunce*). The third follows recommendations made in the regulatory framework, that is to create two progress committees to oversee the continued development of the new towns. The first committee is local and chaired by the province governor (in Darija: the *wali*); the second is an inter-ministerial committee chaired by the prime minister. The following section goes into further details on each of the aforementioned approaches to reviving the New Towns Program.

---

[72] See Ballout, Jean-Marie. 2017. "An Interim Evaluation of the New Towns Program in Morocco." *Les Cahiers d'EMAM*, no. 29 (May). https://doi.org/10.4000/emam.1316 for more on challenges of Morocco's New Towns Program.

1) *A Regulatory Framework to Guide New Town Development in Morocco*

The regulatory infrastructure in a city must not be taken for granted (Parnell et al., 2009). The lack of a legal framework is perhaps the most criticized component of the VNP by elite professionals, Al Omrane officials, local officials, and civic activists. Almost all planning and policy makers I spoke to stress the importance of a legal/regulatory framework to guide the development of Morocco's new towns, especially since new towns are built in rural communes that do not have the resources or expertise to manage an urban settlement of over 100,000 residents. The lack of a legal framework is detrimental to public-private partnerships, management of the new towns and also to the physical development of the new town. Without a legal framework, planning professionals are unable to ensure the project goals and delivery plan are consistent amongst the different ministries involved in providing public services (i.e., ministries of health, education, religious affairs etc.). It also means that the roles of each stakeholder (i.e., Al Omrane, local commune, different ministries) are not completely clear. In Tamansourt, for example, from 2004 until around 2016, Al Omrane continued to spend its resources on road maintenance, street lighting and waste management. These services should have been transferred under the responsibilities of the local commune which had by now increased its tax base and, in theory, had the necessary financial resources to manage a larger area. As one official in Al Omrane explained:

> We [Al Omrane] are still a company and we are controlled by an audit at the end of the year… we cannot spend money on fixing anything without justification. It is hard. There needs to be a special law or legal framework for the *Medina* [Tamansourt]. (Marrakech, 01/23-150, 2019)

Additionally, a legal framework could help the new town become incorporated into the overall development in the region, and thus be able to sit harmoniously with its surrounding urban and rural areas. Several documents guide the urban planning of cities in Morocco. These include: the SDAU (Urban Development Master Plan) which is a 20-year planning document, the SNAT (National Spatial Development Plan), SRAT (Regional Spatial Development Plan), the development plan (PA), zoning plan

and the rural agglomeration development plan that prefectures are required to have. The new towns do not fall under any of these:

> Tamansourt does not have a [urban] management plan…all of the new towns do not have a management plan. There is a site plan and it goes through the approval process. So, it does not follow a comprehensive urbanization document. (Marrakech 01/23-150, 2019)

Currently, the new towns show up in regional developments as blank areas. Al Omrane is the only entity responsible for their development and the Urban Agency is only involved in issuing permits. If these new towns appear as blank areas in regional development plans, it will be difficult for urban agencies to make decisions based on planning documents. Typically, small-scale or secondary cities are included in the visionary plans of regional development (SRAT) and urban management plans (PA). However, "we [at Al Omrane Tamansourt] do not have any of those [long-term visionary/planning] documents… we have just a site plan… a regular site plan but bigger…" one official at Al Omrane noted (Marrakech, 01/23-150, 2019). The fact that the new towns are not included in regional planning documents is problematic in that it is considered a standalone project that does not receive guidance from any regional or national level planning documents. Being disconnected from the vision of their surrounding region (i.e., not included in urban management plans) also presents challenges for the new towns in terms of regional cohesion and their overall integration into their surrounding peri-urban milieu. For example, since the new towns are merely bigger "site plans", the regional Urban Agency is not able to incorporate the whole picture into their regional management: "there is one urbanization document, that is overarching, and the ministry [of housing and urbanism] is the one responsible for providing it and we [the Urban Agency] follow it." (Marrakech, 03/22-270, 2019).

The lack of integration of the new towns with their surrounding areas also enabled developments to rise around the new town and feed on its already weak infrastructure (i.e., schools, transportation etc.) In Tamesna, the Urban Agency of Skhirate-Témara has approved an 84-hectare development project with 2500 housing units to be built at the entrance of the new town (Rabat, 07/12-4, 2017). This development

feeds on the infrastructure of Tamesna, disturbing its population and economic growth, and slowing its ability flourish as a city (ibid). As an official at Al Omrane Tamesna stated:

> The first mistake that happened here is that you [the government/Ministry of Housing] put in *medina*t Tamesna and left it alone, you did not give it the weapons it needs to develop. The Government put in Tamesna, and at the same time they are giving to [enabling] the projects around it. It is like you stepped on its [Tamesna's] foot". He went on to add that compared to other communes around Tamesna "I think that Tamesna is dying… when developments start around Tamesna's peripheries… they are the killing it. (Tamesna, 11/28-126, 2018)

The lack of strategic focus by the government was compared by other interviewees as "having a child and letting the streets raise it". (See also Chapter Seven on informal modes of development in the new towns).

The solution would be either to integrate the new towns in regional and national development plans or to fully separate them from the administrational responsibilities of regional urban agencies by giving Al Omrane more authority to regulate the development, both within a new town's boundaries and to a certain extent around the new town's parameter. In the former case, planning professionals at regional urban agencies would have the opportunity to strategically approve future development surrounding new towns with the goal to ensure the new town is fully functioning and populated before allowing further development projects around its peripheries. This is currently not an option because urban agencies are required to follow comprehensive plans in which new towns are excluded. As a planner at the Urban Agency of Skhirate-Témara explained: "we do not favor one developer or project over another… we are working logically [ie. according to planning documents]" (Témara, 11/27-124, 2018).

The latter suggested solution, giving Al Omrane full autonomous authority over the development of the new towns, is the preferred solution cited by Al Omrane officials, because currently

> …anything we [Al Omrane] need to build we have to go to the urban agency so they can give us the authorization to build… and to the commune to give us authorization… here [at Al Omrane] we are under the control of another administration. (Tamesna, 11/28-126, 2018)

Officials often cite the Bouregreg Valley Development Agency (French acronym – AAVB) as an example

of a state-run development agency that has adequate jurisdiction over the planning and development of

the Bouregreg Valley Project, a waterfront mega-project development in Rabat. The AAVB manages the

whole development project and does not seek building permits and approvals from regional urban

agencies. While planning officials find this solution appealing, contemporary urban scholars studying

neoliberal development in Morocco have warned that concentrating power to a single agency might not

be the best solution under the current trends of capitalist and neoliberal development. Decisions are purely

motivated by capitalist strategies, favoring private interests over public interests. (See Mouloudi, 2010,

2015 and; Bogaert, 2011, 2018). More caution should be taken especially in the case of Al Omrane as a

semi-public agency that has been charged primarily with providing social housing. Additionally, caution

should be taken when considering allowing Al Omrane to issue temporary buffer zones around the new

towns through the legal framework. In the case of Kenya's Konza Techno City, van Noorloos and

Avianto (2019, p. 399) found that "the creation of buffer zones and land use regulations around the

project can also lead to displacement and exclusion". The 20,000-hectare buffer zone placed around the

5,000-hectare Konzo Techno City project created livelihood and land tenure insecurities for two

communities that exist within the imposed buffer zone.

The urbanization process in Morocco continues to become more complex, requiring a constant

update in planning documents, legislation, and technical tools. Without a clear document guiding the

future development of new towns, many officials are doubtful that things will change in Tamesna and

Tamansourt anytime soon. A legal framework is being drafted by a committee of ministry members. The

draft framework contains over sixty articles; the goal is to apply the law to new towns in progress as well.

It defines a "new town" as any planned urban area built at a distance from existing or established urban

fabric. The new town is comprised of a balanced set of residential, services, activities and recreation and

should have a minimum threshold of 800 hectares and 20,000 housing units. The law discusses the

process of creating a new town by royal decree and defining the physical parameters of a new town.

Additionally, it mandates that a "body responsible for the design and implementation" of the new town be

established. (Al Omrane is the implementing body in the case of Tamesna and Tamansourt.) The law

states that once a master plan or site plan design for a new town is created, it must be authorized and

published officially under the royal decree establishing the new town. The law discusses land acquisition

through eminent domain in order to transfer all land rights within the defined parameters of a new town to

the implementing body (i.e., Al Omrane). As drafted currently, the law does not mandate that new towns

be located strategically to preserve and protect agricultural land and forestry, however, I believe this is an

important aspect to consider specially since the agriculture sector is one of Morocco's major economic

and employment drivers. Over the past twenty years, average employment in the agriculture sector has

decreased steadily, dropping from 47.17% (% of total employment) in 1991 to 37.86% in 2020 (World

Bank, 2020). Both Tamesna and Tamansourt are located in areas where agricultural activity existed prior

to the new town's establishment.

Relative to implementation of new towns, the law allows the implementation body (i.e., Al

Omrane) to propose specific regulations to be applied around the parameter of the new town after

consulting with the regional urban agency and communes concerned. The proposed regulations must be

approved and enacted by order of the province governor (in Darija: *wali*). Consulting with local trade

associations such as Casablanca – Regional Investment Center (CRI)[73] may also be worth consideration.

Trade associations can help reduce urban fragmentation by informing governments of how more

investment around the new town could be strategized.

The law should provide an effective governance strategy—defining the role of the implementing

body, the roles of different ministries and the role of the local commune where the new town will be built.

Additionally, the law must clearly define the process of handing over the management of a new town

from the implementing body (Al Omrane) to the local commune. The draft law currently states that

handover from Al Omrane to the local commune must happen: when at least 30% of planned housing is

---

[73] See: https://www.casainvest.ma/fr/cri/missions for more on Casablanca's trade associations. See also Moroccan Law 18-95 of October 1995, which constitutes the Investment Charter.

complete and at least 25% of the population expected is reached. It does not differentiate between rural or urban communes. (Each has its own capacity). The law calls for an inter-ministerial committee to oversee the development process, ensure construction of public facilities, ensure the mobilization of funding necessary for implementation of the new town, ensure construction of roads and means of transportation, supervise the contracts between all actors concerned, and carry out assessments of the new town progress, etc.

The inter-ministerial committee holds a valuable position to provide a framework for evaluation, continuous learning, and adaptation to ensure other new towns do not repeat the same mistakes or face the same challenges as pioneering new towns in Morocco. One problem with the current process of planning and implementing the new towns is the lack of institutional memory. Developing all four of Al Omrane's new towns at the same time made it hard for them to benefit from each other's experiences (Rabat, 07/17-10, 2017). During a preliminary field visit to Morocco in 2016, we interviewed the Director in Charge of the VNP at Al Omrane's headquarters in Rabat, Eng. Abdellatif Berrahma Tlemcani (Rabat, 06/07-4, 2016). However, in subsequent years, I learned that the former VNP director had retired but his position was never refilled. As a result, the four new towns under Al Omrane (Tamesna, Tamansourt, Lkhayta and Chrafate) have not communicated since (Tamesna, 11/28-126, 2018). When I asked why this position was not refilled, one official explained that it could be due to the fact that the ultimate goal/plan is for new towns to be managed by regional Al Omrane offices: "because now the goal is to merge the companies, the company of [Al Omrane] Tamansourt with [Al Omrane] Marrakech…" (Marrakech, 03/25-272, 2019). I suggest that a director of new towns position might better be filled by the Ministry of Housing and Town Planning, because it could diversify the experiences to include other new towns such BenGuerir's Green City, Zenata's EcoCity and Fes' Jnane Saïss Development. The experiences of multiple new towns can then be discussed every six-months by the inter-ministerial committee. Through the inter-ministerial committee, there could be a built-in framework for communication between new towns to share experiences and innovative solutions that might help other new towns. Written in 2010, the framework is still in draft form (Rabat, 06/02-2, 2016, Rabat, 07/12-4, 2017, Tamesna, 11/28-126, 2018,

Marrakech, 01/23-150, 2019).

2) *Launch of Recovery Plans for Individual New Towns, Launch of National and Local Progress Committees*

In 2013, in order to overcome the damage to Tamesna and Tamansourt's reputation, in particular, and their perception by the general public as failed cities, dormitory cities, commuter housing, and ghost towns, the Ministry of Housing and Urban Policy (French acronym - MHPV[74]) established a national inter-ministerial committee in charge with overseeing the VNP. Both new towns Tamesna and Tamansourt were required to initiate "Recovery Plans" to revive their current status and boost their progress.

Tamesna's Recovery Plan

Tamesna's recovery plan "*plan de relance de la ville nouvelle Tamesna*" was presented by Al Omrane Tamesna on March 20, 2013. At the meeting, several ministers were present along with the President of the Al Omrane Holding, the Governor of the Prefecture Skhirat Témara, several elected officials, and other senior officials (Al Omrane Tamesna, 2018). The stakeholders involved included the Ministry of Housing, Ministry of Habous and Islamic Affairs, the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, the Ministry of Youth and Sports, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Solidarity, Women, Family and Social Development, the Ministry of Culture, the Higher Commission for Water, Forests and the Fight Against Desertification, the Rural Commune of Sidi Yahia Des Zaers and Al Omrane Holding Co. A budget of 53 Million MAD was set in place for reviving the new town. The recovery plan was signed by all the stakeholders involved, including the Ministry of Finance which will manage the funding.

---

[74] MHPV - *Ministère de l'Habitat et de la Politique de la Ville*

The objective of the plan is to "breathe new life into this major hub [Tamesna], to improve its attractiveness to investors and citizens, and to ensure harmonious integration of its [the recovery plan's] two urban components" (Al Omrane Tamesna, 2018). Tamesna's recovery plan includes plans to substitute the work of two private developers who were impacted by the financial crisis and unable to complete their housing development projects. With the new budget from the recovery plan, Al Omrane was able to address the problems of sub-standard housing built by contracted private developers by demolishing several buildings that did not respect building codes. This demolition was the largest in the country's history. Al Omrane made plans to rebuild this plot with two housing projects known as the Garden of Zaer (*Jardin de Zaer)* and the Pearl of Zaer (*Perle de Zaer*). These two new housing projects use aspects of "smarter" planning, namely opening up streets and access roads, including social and commercial sections, and green spaces (Al Omrane Tamesna Meeting with Civic Associations, 07/14-1, 2017). The project will be completed in phases. At a meeting, which included the director of Al Omrane Tamesna and civic organizations working with citizens who were affected by issues with private developers, the completion of the projects was projected to be March 2019 (Urban Agency of Skhirate-Témara Site Development Meeting, 07/13-4, 2017). Additionally, Al Omrane was charged with installing two new mosques, four youth houses, and a large central park. The central park will be managed by the public sector but aims to incorporate the private sector by including restaurants and cafés. The goal of the recovery plan is to stimulate economic life and community involvement.

The plan has not yet been completely implemented. Hicham Lahlou, the Director of Management Control and the Recovery Plan for Tamesna, explained to me that since the establishment of the recovery plan there are two committees focused on Tamesna's progress one local and one national committee. The local committee is attended by the governor of the Rabat Prefecture and the national committee is led by the Minister of Housing. In the agreement, the local committee must meet monthly and the national committee is to meet once every six months. Prior to the recovery plan, the different stakeholders did not have any regular meetings concerning Tamesna's development (Tamesna, 11/28-126, 2018). Lahlou shared the progress to date (2018) since the 2013 meetings, "the cultural center, and the youth center were

quickly constructed and the grand mosque has been completed for three years now but it still has not opened". At the time of my fieldwork, both the grand mosque and the public park were still closed to the public. Officials explained that both projects were awaiting to be inaugurated by the King.

Apart from Al Omrane's management and project's budget, three very important projects with highly allocated budgets were central to the relaunching of Tamesna. First, a technological pole (15 Million MAD) that would house a campus for the University of Mohammed VI. Second, a conference center to be constructed by the Ministry of Habous and Islamic Affairs (6MillionMAD), and finally a regional hospital (5.5 Million MAD). The Ministry of Health was charged with building the regional hospital between 2013 and 2017, and the Ministry of Higher Education was responsible for building the university and technological pole. On October 28, 2018, one month prior to my interview with Hicham Lahlou, Al Omrane had presented an update on the Recovery Plan to the Ministry of Housing upon their request for bi-yearly updates. Much of the progress presented in the document is that of Al Omrane's work or their work in collaboration with other ministries. In regards to the hospital's status, a delay was noted. However, the conference center and technological pole show no progress "despite several meetings and written reminders" by Al Omrane. According to Lahlou, the hospital and university projects have not been achieved in part because both ministries are not experienced in project construction and will need to turn to subcontracts for their plans to be realized. Al Omrane Tamesna has offered to take over construction of hospital building for the Ministry of Health, however, the Ministry had not agreed:

> They [the Ministry of Health] do not have the ability to build… or the expertise… because the people in the Ministry of Health are doctors/physicians, so they don't know much about construction, they know more about health… we recommended that to them in the beginning, that we [Al Omrane] will build it for them, but they didn't want… them and the Technology Pole [Ministry of Higher Education] … even the techno pole isn't built yet… (Tamesna, 11/28-126, 2018)

Both the hospital project and the university campus have the potential to activate Tamesna by attracting more businesses and providing jobs for its growing population.

Tamansourt's Recovery Plan

Tamansourt's recovery plan was presented by Al Omrane Tamansourt on February 4th, 2013 at around the same time as that of Tamesna (March 20th 2013). The recovery plan has three objectives. First, to follow the directives of the Urban Development Master Plan (SDAU) to "strengthen the influence of Marrakech by offering a quality urban setting in the satellite zone". Second, to provide the city and the region with valuable facilities, and finally, to develop projects that generate activity and jobs (Al Omrane Tamansourt, 2013). As in most documents presenting the current status of the new town, the document includes the total number of housing units completed, those in progress, and land titles issued for plot owners in Tamansourt. The document also lists the number of private and public services, such as mosques, schools, banks and hammams, completed to date. A public transportation study carried out by the company Siemens France was listed as an accomplishment, as well a list of "sustainable development" efforts, including the use of low energy consumption lamps in public areas, reusing of wastewater for watering green spaces, and encouraging the population to install solar-powered water heaters.

The main limitations relative to Tamansourt's development were that Al Omrane Tamansourt was still responsible for the maintenance and upkeep of the city in terms of road and city cleaning and construction and maintenance public parks, street signage and street furniture. Harbeel Commune had only recently taken over waste collection and public street lighting (2013), but the expectation is for the Commune to take over more management in the city. Other obstacles were that Douar El Harmel, the semi-informal settlement, remains in the center of the city. A total of 1002 households from the settlement were successfully relocated, while 256 households are still resisting.

The interventions to support the relaunch of Tamansourt include both physical and management projects. The physical projects included complete removal of Douar El Harmel, construction of missing public services such as health, cultural and sports facilities, and the construction of a wastewater

treatment plant which was delayed. Like, Tamesna, focus was to be put on major projects, such as the university campus, Royal Gendarmerie School, a police school, industrial park and a regional hospital. Management and service projects included public transportation, strengthening security in the new town by bringing in police, and establishing a "protection zone" around Tamansourt to control urbanization around it. The recovery plan also aims to provide the Commune with human resources and the necessary materials to ensure their ability to manage Tamansourt and establish it as a municipality. Finally, like Tamesna's recovery plan, a local monitoring committee chaired by the governor of the prefecture of Marrakech will monitor the progress of the new town. Tamansourt's recovery plan also allowed for a contract between the prefecture, the commune, and Al Omrane to designate more of Tamansourt's housing inventory as "receiving sites" for informal settlement resettlement housing (Marrakech, 03/25-273, 2019). The most significant part of the Tamansourt's recovery plan was that Al Omrane took over the construction of public service buildings that were lagging. The goal is for Al Omrane to take over construction of public service buildings and provide them to their respective ministries to operate. For example, with the revised budget, Al Omrane Tamansourt built two schools and handed them over to the Ministry of Education to operate (Marrakech, 01/23-150 and 03/25-272, 2019). By 2019, the Royal Gendarmerie School and police school were under construction in Tamansourt. However, larger projects with more potential to activate the new town such as the industrial park, regional hospital and university campus, were still not actively being planned or developed.

Critiques on the Current Responses to the Alleged Failure of Tamesna and Tamansourt

The responses to the challenges faced in the implementation of the VNP discussed above are all extremely valuable responses, yet they are based on solely on the concerns brought up by elite professionals and not necessarily the concerns of current residents. Comparing the concerns about the VNP that were brought up in my interviews with elite professionals with the draft of the new town law, clearly all the current concerns of professional elites will be resolved by the passing of a new town law that further regulates the planning process. The responses are goal-oriented and rigid in that their frame of

reference is the original goals of the VNP, not necessarily the current situation. The responses are once again based on two core ideologies held by modernist planning. The first is the search for "order" and the second is "elitism", the notion that "planners know best" (J. D. Porteous, 1977, 1989).

The same top-down planning was repeated in the creation of "recovery plans" to revive the two new towns several years after they were occupied. By 2013, when the recovery plans were launched, both new towns had been significantly occupied. However, much like the initial planning phases of Tamesna and Tamansourt, the recovery plans focused on providing formal solutions without considering the needs of other stakeholders, such as contracted private developers and residents. One private developer critiqued the plan and Al Omrane for working towards their own benefit as a private (semi-public) developer "after the [Tamesna] recovery plan they [Al Omrane] widened and widened and widened the road… do you think we will develop a *medina* by widening the roads?... If you go to the roads next to our development, you will find a lot of potholes in the streets… I think the project manager [Al Omrane] has the authority and only maintains the places in which they [Al Omrane the housing developer] are building in (i.e., Al Omrane as both a private company but utilizing its power as public sector for its benefit)" (Tamesna, 11/28-127, 2018). Residents of both new towns were also not involved in the recovery plan. One elite interviewee suggested that civic associations "could have" been involved to voice the concerns of the people (Tamansourt, 01/23-150, 2019).

Both Tamesna and Tamansourt's recovery plans address some of the residents' main concerns regarding social services such as public transportation, youth and cultural services, and the lack of health care facilities and a hospital with labor and delivery. However, the plans continue to view the project as a master plan that requires the provision of certain general overall services. Rather than focusing on the urgent needs of different occupied neighborhoods within each town, the recovery plans offer a blanket solution for the whole new town. The plans aim to complete the new town project as though it has still not been occupied and made home to over 50,000 residents (each). Additionally, the success of both the new town and the recovery plan is measured in the number of projects completed regardless of whether they are operating. The cultural center, youth club, and market building in Tamesna are examples of how the

recovery plan has succeeded in constructing the buildings in a timely manner, without necessarily

ensuring residents benefit from their existence. At the time of my research (2018) and until the time of

this writing (2021), these services are not yet operating. Responding to the challenges faced in

implementing the VNP with more formal solutions based on elite assumptions further underlines the

existence and negative impacts of "conflicting rationalities" in the context of Morocco's new town

planning.

Conflicting Rationalities as a tool for planning

While rational forms of planning such as master planned new towns may follow "international

best practices", it is no surprise that problems arise when these "techno-managerial" and "marketized"

systems of administration, planning and service provision come to interface with the "highly

differentiated and 'situated' urban citizenry" (Watson, 2009a, p. 2269). Watson's (2003) theory on

"conflicting rationalities", which was confirmed by this dissertation, has important policy implications

and can be turned into a useful "analytical and normative tool for planning" (Watson, 2009a, p. 2273).

My goal in this chapter is to address the conflicting rationalities that exist in the planning and inhabiting

of Tamesna and Tamansourt.

The first important step is to acknowledge that there exists a very real "clash of rationalities"

between the elite assumptions and citizens' reality. These conflicting rationalities can be seen on the

ground in the form of adaptations, confrontations, and appropriations. Watson calls this zone where elite

assumptions meet citizens' reality "the interface zone". The interface zone is defined as a place where

state efforts at urban development and modernization (housing, taxes, land use, etc.) are met, confronted,

adapted, or appropriated by 'target populations' in different ways (Watson, 2009a, p. 2270). The second

step is to understand what happens in these interface zones and the ways in which interactions can take

"positive, negative or hybridized forms" (ibid). In Tamesna and Tamansourt, quiet encroachments in the

form of informal markets, local means of transportation, informal mosque structures, encroachments on

spaces of shared ownership and informal provision of recreational activities occupy this "interface zone".

Clearly, the responses to state interventions vary as people engage with them in everyday life. The interactions with planned interventions lead to diverse and unpredictable outcomes worth further investigation. By understanding what happens in this interface zone, Watson (2009a, p. 2272) suggests, we can come up with solutions on how to take action that suits the particular local context.

Focusing on the "interface zone" and the lived reality of Tamesna and Tamansourt's residents, one can point to a major setback of the VNP: the program and planners' responses to challenges faced address the regulatory, technical (physical) and political aspects of planning, but fail to directly address the social and local managerial aspects. The current efforts to advance Tamesna and Tamansourt are simply stop gap solutions to delays in the construction of physical structures, which are required in order to complete the image of an ideal modernist new town as presented in the initial site plan. Planners continue to be so caught up in the physical planning of the new towns that there is little focus on issues of quality of life and local urban governance that can actually help master planned cities become more desirable places to live. The following section is an attempt to propose policy recommendations that derive from within the context of Morocco's contemporary new towns.

II. Moving Forward: Principles and Strategies for Effectively Planning and Managing Contemporary New Towns in Morocco

The new town planning model is based on a century old concept derived from Ebenezer Howard's garden city idea. The manifestation of Howard's (1898) ideas into a British government program in the years following the Second World War (WWII) set precedents for other nations world-wide to follow. (See Chapter Two for more on the history of new towns.) By the end of the 20th century, Britain's new towns, and various modernist cities in the Global South (cf. Brasilia and Chandigarh) had been widely built and occupied, providing valuable insights on the efficiency and effectiveness of the new town model in practice. As a result, the 20th century witnessed an outpour of critiques of modernist cities and a vast literature on lessons learned and best planning practices for new towns (cf. Susskind, 1973; Rubenstein, 1978; Merlin, 1980; Branch, 1983; Strawhorn, 1985; Holston, 1989; Lefebvre, 1995; J. C.

Scott, 1998; Mark Clapson, 1998, 2002; Forsyth, 2002; Alexander, 2009; M. Clapson, 2017). The

majority of these, however, focused on Euro-American case studies. In 2009, the International New

Towns Institute (INTI), a non-profit dedicated to improving the quality and sustainability of future new

towns by learning from past experiences to benefit present and future planned communities, was

established. The INTI is a specialized platform that brings together research and multidisciplinary

expertise to improve new towns and with the ultimate objective "to improve the quality of life in new

cities worldwide" (INTI n.d.). More recently, both the INTI and critical urban theorists studying

urbanization trends in the Global South have acknowledged the recent trend towards new urban visions

and development plans throughout the fast-growing African continent. (See Watson 2014 Urban Fantasies

for more). In 2019, scholars and affiliates of the INTI published a manual entitled *To Build a City in*

Africa: A History and a Manual (Keeton & Provoost, 2019)*.* The manual draws on case studies from a

variety of contemporary new towns in African countries, such as Ghana, Egypt, South Africa, Angola,

Morocco, and Kenya, among others.

The literature on best practices and lessons learned relative to new town planning is vast. My goal

here is not to review the literature exhaustively, but rather to highlight some recommendations that could

be helpful for rethinking new towns in Morocco based on the existing literature and first-hand empirical

evidence gathered for the case studies of Tamesna and Tamansourt in this dissertation. I draw heavily on

interviews with planning and local officials, as well as discussions with residents on their immediate

needs and preferred housing typologies. My five key recommendations relate to the new towns' economic

development, infrastructure provision, connectivity, physical environment, design and master planning,

long-term sustainability, and end user experience.

Five Key Principles and Strategies for Effectively Planning and Managing Morocco's Current and Future
New Towns

I. A New Town Should Have a Core Economic Development Vision/Purpose

New towns need to have an economic development vision and strategy. We know that historically cities and major urban centers grew organically around natural resources that provided an economic base to support and sustain their development (i.e., rivers, oil, coal and gold mines etc.). New towns are not necessarily built in strategic locations, instead they are often built to solve other underlying societal problems or meet political objectives. Morocco's New Towns Program, in particular, set out to solve three main issues: decongesting major urban centers, addressing the lack of housing, and solving the unemployment problem. The location of the fifteen planned new towns was, therefore, decided opportunistically based on publicly available or easily obtainable land within close proximity (15-20km) to an existing major urban area. Without a clear strategy to create an economic base that can sustain the development of a completely new urban area, a new town becomes merely collection of suburban housing developments that is highly dependent on a pre-existing urban area.

While one of the important frameworks for developing a new town under the Moroccan Government's "New Cities, Satellite Cities" policy was to determine an overall vision and specific "vocation" for the satellite towns that underpins their "basic functioning", both Tamesna and Tamansourt did not have a clear vision at their outset (VNVS, 2004, p. 10) (Tamesna, 11/28-126, 2018 and Marrakech, 01/23-150, 2019). The "New Cities, Satellite Cities" document provides examples for basic functions of a new town as having agricultural, industrial, commercial, touristic, seaside, residential or university focus, depending on their environmental contexts and location. A new town's economic development plan should include a programmatic approach for local economic and employment development that capitalizes on pre-existing surrounding industries. In that sense, both Tamesna and Tamansourt had the potential to capitalize on existing industries. Tamesna is built on agricultural land with great farming potential. Tamansourt is built in an area between two major economic hubs, a tourist center, Marrakech, and a city known for its pottery and textile production, Asfi.

In both Tamesna and Tamansourt, the recovery plans sought to address the lack of an identity or future vision for the new town. Both recovery plans involved focusing on shifting their vision into

"university towns". Tamesna would become a technologic or scientific pole (in French: *Pole*

Technologique) by incorporating a remote campus for Mohammed VI University. Tamansourt would

become "an educational *medina,* or a university *medina* or a *medina* for research and development (in

Darija: *takween*)" since three of its major recovery plan projects include a university campus, a

gendarmerie school and a police school (Tamansourt, 03/26-274, 2019). Indeed, there is evidence that

building new towns and master planned communities around institutions of higher education tend to be

successful since students, staff and faculty add to the diversity of needs and resources. In Morocco, the

Green City of BenGuerir, established in 2010, is built with Mohammed VI Polytechnic University

(UM6P[75] – French Acronym) campus at its core acting as the "driving power" for the Green City's

development (Lahboub, 2020). Inspired by Cambridge, Massachusetts, BenGuerir's Green City began

with the construction of the university campus and student and staff housing before continuing onto

developing the rest of the new town (INTI, 2017). In BenGurier, UM6P has provided jobs to pre-existing

communities, attracted businesses to serve students, and provided the wider community with public

amenities, parks, playgrounds and attractive public spaces. The problem with Tamesna and Tamansourt's

focus on becoming "university towns", however, is that it is an afterthought. The economic development

vision needs to be present at the very beginning as it should be the "driving power" for the city's

development.

Perhaps a better approach to making Tamesna and Tamansourt more attractive in retrospect

would be to make the new towns more attractive areas for business investment. This would involve

economic development action opposed to the current physical planning solutions offered by Al Omrane's

recovery plans (i.e., to build a campus) which will likely take time to construct and more so to operate.

The former economic development approach could involve securing contracts with large companies and

businesses, providing support for the local businesses community by making workforce training a

---

[75] UM6P - *Université Mohammed VI Polytechnique*

priority, and encouraging local small-scale businesses by simplifying the fees and permit processes and ensuring retail space is not only available, but also affordable.

In retrospect, a new town could focus on providing certain amenities that were missing in the nearby cities, such that their connection becomes meaningful for both new town residents as well as residents of other more established surrounding cities. One new eco-city located in proximity of Casablanca, Zenata, has benefited from the newly opened (2016) IKEA furniture store which has become a means for marketing the city to middle-income populations and connecting it to surrounding areas.

It is important to note, however, that when the economic development vision for a new town is an afterthought, it becomes more difficult to realize as other regions compete for economic opportunities. In Tamansourt, for example, the Commune of Harbeel has reached out to the Regional Investment Center of Marrakech-Safi (*Centre Régional d'Investissement Marakech Safi*) to attract investors to Tamansourt. However due to their competition with surrounding industrial zones and communes, they have had minimal success thus far (Marrakech, 01/23-150, 2019). In addition to attracting major industries and employers, ensuring that small scale commercial spaces are affordable for all types of businesses and entrepreneurial activity can help with self-employment and job security. Many commercial stores in Tamesna and Tamansourt remain empty because of the high price associated with renting, purchasing or maintaining a commercial store (i.e., taxes and building and business permits). An intentional and well-thought-out economic development vision is, therefore, an essential element of planning a new town.

II. A New Town Should be Built in Phases

A second important principle for planning and developing a new town, is that a new town should be implemented in phases. Just because the master plan of a new town provides a balanced conception of the amount of housing, circulation, green space, and service buildings needed to service an anticipated population, it does not mean all the elements will offered to residents at the same time. Planners, policy makers and ordinary citizens all acknowledge that a new town takes time to develop. They need to implement a plan that provides even the very first occupants with a decent quality of life and equal access

to public services. Developing a phasing and implementation plan is crucial, especially when there are multiple stakeholders involved in providing infrastructure (i.e., water, electricity and street lighting etc.), housing and public amenities (mosques, schools, clinics, youth centers, parks and green spaces etc.)

The lack of a phased development plan in both Tamesna and Tamansourt shows how an unsystematic building pattern did not allow for a decent quality of life for incoming residents. Both the social and material fabric of the cities were fragmented. Apartment blocks and single-family houses were built rapidly by private developers before the necessary public infrastructure, such as a schools, clinics, mosques, and local public transportation were provided by the public sector. Each ministry responsible for providing a specific public service works at their own pace, depending on their financial ability and set priorities. Public school provision in both new towns, for example, was also significantly delayed in the beginning. While private schools tried to fill in the gap, most of the initial residents were public housing beneficiaries who were relocated from informal settlements in and around Rabat and Marrakech and could not afford the costs of private school for multiple children. Residents in the many scattered housing developments of Tamesna and Tamansourt felt isolated in their housing developments and faced difficulties with taking their children to the nearest available school or clinic. High schools and vocational colleges were too far to walk to and vacant lots pose danger to youth walking alone, especially young girls. Both new towns are built in rural areas with no significant police presence at the beginning. The Gendarmerie in both Tamesna and Tamansourt are few in number and face difficulties with policing scattered housing developments and abandoned buildings. Phased development would allow the local security enforcement officers to manage patrolling the new town until the national police is deployed[76].

A fundamental planning principle of modernist planning was to create a separation between pedestrian and road traffic. This resulted in an overwhelming dependence on the automobile (Jacobs, 1961/2011; See also critiques of Radburn New Jersery, Brasilia and MiltonKeynes by Mark Clapson, 1998; M. Clapson, 2017). The same principles were used in designing Tamesna and Tamansourt, and

---

[76] Police were deployed in Tamesna and Tamansourt at the time of this writing, just recently on February 19, 2021.

when coupled with the lack of phased development, the new town became extremely hard to navigate on foot. Both new towns have a "grand"[77] taxi station with taxis that take passengers from the new towns to neighboring cities. Without a reliable local bus route system many residents are unable to get to the taxi stations. A reliable local bus system is essential in the early stages of a new town's development.

It is important to realize that each piece of the new town puzzle is the responsibility of a different partner, which also operates at its own pace and can be influenced by external forces. Housing construction in Tamesna and Tamansourt, for example, was predominantly the responsibility of private partners, many of whom were international development companies. At the beginning of the development of Tamesna and Tamansourt, there was an "explosion of housing", as one Al Omrane official put it, but not enough public services to go with it (Tamesna, 10/01-22, 2018). This made it it difficult for private developers to attract buyers and sell their housing inventory. Commercial stores on the bottom floors of the countless apartment buildings were left empty as small business owners did not find it feasible to operate a small business (i.e., convenience store, barber, bakery) in scantily populated areas. Instead, business owners preferred to operate their small business and offer their services from their own apartments. The broken windows and shutters on commercial stores also do not make them appealing to outside investors. In addition to the local situation, Tamesna and Tamansourt were affected by the 2007-2008 global economic crisis. Several international partners withdrew their investment from Tamesna, while others in Tamansourt left their housing projects unfinished (Tamansourt, 01/23-150, 2019). Many private developers were also unable to fulfil their contractual agreement with Al Omrane, which demanded each private developer also provides a public service building. In the aftermath of the economic crisis, Al Omrane was left with the challenges of resolving these issues. A phased development plan would mitigate such large-scale losses.

---

[77] "Grand" taxis in Morocco are reserved for transporting passengers between cities, while "petite" taxis are reserved for transporting people within cities.

Implementation of new towns in phases is important not only to address the challenges associated with providing public services, but also could ensure high quality construction (Alexander, 2009). In the case of Tamesna, the whole 800+ hectares of land were quickly divided amongst private developers as part of the private-public partnership model and buildings popped up at random areas of the city depending on the financial capabilities of different private partners. Al Omrane did not have the time, resources, or ability to monitor all construction sites and ensure construction was done to standards. Two housing developments were later found not to respect building codes and had to be demolished and rebuilt by Al Omrane to ensure timely delivery to those who had purchased apartments on plan. Other mass-produced apartment buildings that I visited in Tamesna and Tamansourt are already showing signs of wear and tear just over a decade since their construction. Residents expressed concerns with the structural stability of their apartment buildings. (See Chapter Six for more on substandard housing construction).

Phasing has also been credited with creating unique subdistricts and communities at a more manageable scale (Forsyth, 2005, p. 219; DCLG 2006; Mandelker, 2010). Communities established in earlier phases of a development could later become involved in the development of later phases. Three new towns currently in their initial development phase in Morocco have considered a phased approach a necessity after witnessing the challenges of Tamesna and Tamansourt. One of Al Omrane's four initial new towns, Charafate, located near Tangier, is expected to be developed radially by phase (Rabat, 07/18-1, 2017). Its first phase will connect the two northern cities of Tetouan and Tangier. The city center and anchor of the town are planned to be in the area closest to a nearby Renault-Nissan industrial plant, capitalizing on a preexisting economic driver of the region. Another of Al Omrane's four new towns, Lakhyayta, located 20km south-west of Casablanca, is divided into two project phases (Casablanca, 07/19-1, 2017). The first phase will develop 360 hectares and the second phase will take on the remaining 800+ hectares. Finally, Jnane Saïss located south of Fes, has also learned from the experience of new towns Tamesna and Zenata and is, thus, planning a phased development approach (Rabat, 07/18-2, 2017). Similar to Tamesna, the eco-city Zenata, located in proximity to Casablanca, began with building and selling lodging before providing public urban services, amenities and road connectivity. New town

Jnane Saïss will focus on the industrial zone as its first phase and the commercial zone as its second phase, leaving lodging and the central urban park for the third phase of development (Rabat, 07/18-2, 2017). Though the reversed approach of providing commercial and economic activity prior to housing sounds promising, the experience of Tamesna and Tamansourt shows that the housing sector itself should not all be open for development at once and instead planners should make sure that schools and public service amenities can be provided within clusters of housing development projects before allowing further development to take place.

III. A New Town Should be Have an Integrated Transportation System

A new town's local and regional transportation networks need to be integrated with its nearby metropolitan area transportation systems (Wei & Mogharabi, 2013). With time, new towns can become self-sufficient cities in terms of everyday facilities and services, however, they will always rely on the nearby metropolitan area for goods, specialized services, higher education, leisure, and employment. New towns, therefore, need to be connected to surrounding urban areas via rapid bus transport and existing road infrastructure. The first bus rapid transportation system (BRT) in the world was employed in a new town in England in 1971. High-quality public transport was a central feature of the new town, Runcorn, which proved to be effective at avoiding the problems typically faced in the "transition phase" of new town building while it is still in the making (Lesley, 1983, p. 243). In the long run, a high-quality reliable regional public transportation system will help mitigate traffic congestion and environmental impacts associated with increased motor vehicle use. It will also allow for cross-commuting throughout surrounding urban areas. For example, in the case of Tamesna, an integrated transportation plan will allow for cross commuting with Sidi Yahia Zaer, Témara, Skhirate and Rabat, promoting economic growth and an increased quality of life for Tamesna's residents. Without a reliable public transportation system to the neighboring cities of Rabat and Marrakech, a vast majority of commuters from Tamesna and Tamansourt rely on motorcycles for their daily commute, putting them and their families at risk.

During my time in the field, an alarming number of motorcycle accidents were reported frequently by locals on social media platforms.

Transportation improvements between core and peripheral cities also have a clear impact on equity and reduction of socio-economic disparities amongst city residents (See Leck et al., 2008). Without adequate transportation both within Tamesna and Tamansourt and outwards to major nearby cities, lower income residents' livelihoods have been severely affected. Many residents I spoke to who were informally employed in Rabat and Marrakech, as domestic helpers, car parking guards and building janitors to name a few, either lost their jobs upon moving to the new towns due to unreliable transportation or could no longer afford the commute. Additionally, transportation improvements are important for maintaining personal, family, and social relationships. Most current residents in Tamesna and Tamansourt are former residents of small peripheral cities and towns that surround the metropolitan areas of Rabat and Marrakech. Many still have kinship ties, friendships and jobs in those cities and rely on their established social and cultural capital networks for various needs. For example, it is common for college-aged students who live in rural areas to stay with relatives in urban areas closer to university institutions during the week and return home for weekends and holidays. A robust integrated transportation system will also help maintain cultural, traditional, religious, and social rituals such as attending engagements, weddings, funerals and Eid celebrations—all of which can improve new town residents' quality of life and their social and mental wellbeing.

IV. A New Town Should Provide Desirable Housing/Should be Designed to Meet Local Expectations

Homeownership is one of the key reasons people choose to relocate to a new town. Therefore, it is essential for planners to ask the fundamental questions: What type(s) of housing do people want? What types of neighborhood designs will attract the local population? In the case of Morocco's first new towns, the requirement to address an ever-growing national housing deficit overshadowed the goal of creating desirable places to live. One of the main indicators of the VNP's success was the number of housing units

built thus far. Apartment complexes were favored by Moroccan planners over serviced plots as they produced greater numbers of housing units and immediately satisfied policy evaluation reports. Mass production of housing and speedy delivery also takes a toll on construction quality and, in turn, property value. For lower-income residents, apartment units did not satisfy their needs. Instead owning an apartment simply confined them in a community they did not feel they were part of, yet they continued to have to deal with the financial burdens associated with living in it. Lower-income residents struggle to pay their mortgages and can barely keep up with maintenance of their individual units. As a result, the public spaces and spaces of shared ownership associated with apartment complexes become places for informal activity. Storage shacks and private enclosures take over spaces of shared ownership. These vast open spaces are rarely maintained, further depleting the image of the Moroccan new town, and the quality of life associated with housing structures and shared spaces. "Cookie-cutter" developments, therefore, might not be the best design for the Moroccan context, especially when targeting lower-income households. Market rate apartment complexes that catered for upper and middle-income populations, on the other hand, were well-maintained, often gated, guarded and organized. Elevators operate and stairwells are well lit and kept clean. An evaluation of the status of different housing typologies in the long-term along with resident needs and satisfaction surveys will help planners create more desirable places for people to live.

Additionally, under Morocco's VNP, the assumption was made that housing units would be occupied by nuclear families with one or two family members maintaining a formal job. This was not the case in Tamesna and Tamansourt. Some beneficiaries of public housing units were widows and many former slum dwellers shared their apartment units with elderly parents or grown and unmarried siblings. Unmarried bachelors working in the new towns faced difficulties with renting apartment units in predominantly family-occupied housing complexes. While recommendations to diversify the housing stock might work in Euro-American contexts, in the Moroccan city it seems traditional neighborhoods have the capability to solve many of these issues. Tamansourt's serviced-plot subdivisions are the ideal example of how smaller scale, traditional Moroccan housing, though slow to develop in the beginning

produce more desirable communities with a richer more textured fabric, better scale, more commercial and job opportunities, and more culturally appropriate neighborhoods consistent with the traditional Moroccan lifestyle. While residents of apartment complexes do not necessarily maintain the shared corridors, roofs and staircase areas, residents in Tamansourt's self-built serviced plots tend to care for the areas in front of their doors and, by extension, the shared alleyways and public streets that connect them to other neighbors. Serviced plots in the Moroccan new town also allow for alternative house financing options, like sharing a plot with a sibling or slowly building one's home as financial ability allows. Self-built housing plots also provide for some flexibility both financially and spatially for non-nuclear families such as multi-generational families, divorcees living with their parents, bachelors, and newlyweds. The main concern officials in Morocco had with serviced plots and their preference for apartment complexes, was that self-built plots take a longer time to build and occupy. In Tamansourt, the local commune began providing plot owners with a "half-[building]permit" that would enable owners to build incrementally, hence encouraging plot owners to begin constructing and occupying their housing.

The decision to build upwards (apartment complexes) as opposed to horizontally (serviced plots) is also associated with the amount of land available for new towns. I realize that the recommendation to accommodate more affordable housing in the form of serviced plots will not go without critique. If new towns were to provide more of the desired housing typology (serviced plots) this would undoubtedly increase the land base needed for urbanization. This means that the government rather than being opportunistic with their designation of land for new town development (i.e., based on publicly available/easily attainable land), would need to consider purchasing more land as a means to house larger populations in traditional Moroccan housing and neighborhoods. While such a strategy would indeed raise the initial cost of the VNP, one could argue that the budgetary increases provided (via recovery plans) to address the Program's shortcomings to revive Tamesna and Tamansourt and make them more attractive could have been mitigated if housing and communities met local expectations and inhabitants played an active role in neighborhood development and service provision.

An important lesson to learn from the first generation of Euro-American new towns is that new towns grow old quickly. Alexander (2009) notes that in the case of Britain's new towns, "modernist superstructures" were found to be hard to refurbish and modify in the future. In contrast, well-built simple buildings have a longer-term value and are easy to update or replace. Detached Victorian-style housing and suburban semi-detached housing, for example, proved much easier to maintain over time (ibid). Additionally, smaller scale development structures such as those seen in medieval cities can be removed and replaced overtime, allowing for a rich and textured urban fabric to develop (Alexander, 2009). The same is true in the case mass-produced apartment complexes in Tamesna and Tamansourt when compared to serviced plot neighborhoods that have already began to provide rich commercial activity and lively alleyways and shared spaces. A hybrid approach between mass-produced apartment units and the benefits of self-built housing on serviced plots would be to have private developers construct smaller scale, semi-finished neighborhoods for lower-income residents. When designing housing in a new town, the definition of what makes up adequate or "decent" housing in the given context is extremely important to consider. In an effort to present a definition for adequate housing in the Global South and for African new towns in particular, Ayala et. al (2019) present four principles they believe are necessary to produce adequate housing options. They call them the 'four A's': Affordable, Available, Accessible and Acceptable (Ayala et al., 2019, p. 410). While contemporary housing policies in Morocco have ensured the first three A's are met, the final "A", Acceptable involves understanding housing needs from a "socio-demographic and cultural perspective" (Ayala et al., 2019, p. 412).

V. A New Town Should Have a Platform for Citizen Engagement in Local Urban Governance

To transform the new towns into more desirable cities in which to live, there needs to be more focus on local governance, in general, and specifically on institutionalizing civic and citizen participation in the governance and development of a master planned new town. Unlike cities that grow organically over-time, new towns are rapidly developed through top-down strategies, imposing a complete order on their incoming populations. Incoming residents do not know each other as well as in pre-established

communities making it difficult for citizens to self-organize and voice their concerns and establish their rights. A key to the long-term sustainability of new towns is embedding a deliberate system of good governance within the initial planning process that will make the transition from "constructing" a new town to "inhabiting", managing and governing a new town much smoother.

One of the most essential elements of good governance is public participation. According to Mansuri and Rao (2012), participation can be characterized in two forms as 'organic' or 'induced'. Organic participation includes social movements, unions and other civic associations and organizations that seek to improve livelihoods and living standards (Mansuri & Rao, 2012; Menon & Hartz-Karp, 2019). Induced participation is a more structured form of participation that is promoted through state policies such as decentralization and community-driven development. After comprehensively reviewing the literature on the different types of participatory processes used in some of India's urban and rural areas, Menon and Hartz-Karp (2019), assert that a common pitfall with participatory processes in India's cities is that in societies with deep-rooted structural inequalities, these processes often enable more vocal and privileged groups to voice their concerns while preventing disempowered and marginalized populations from participating meaningfully. Relying *only* on organic participation and elected governments in highly stratified societies, like India (and in the case of this research Morocco), Menon and Hartz-Karp (2019) assert is inadequate and leads to increasing societal inequalities. Induced participation, such as Participatory Budgeting or Deliberative Democracy, both of which directly influence the decision-making process of local elected officials, Menon and Hartz-Karp (2019) maintain are much more effective for creating sustainable urban areas. An effective deliberative participatory process has three main elements: (1) Influence on policy and decision making, (2) Inclusion of diverse view-points and values, thus, providing equal opportunity for all to participate and (3) Deliberation quality such that there is open dialogue, with access to information, space to understand and reframe issues, devise options, and search for common ground (Carson & Hartz-Karp, 2005; Menon & Hartz-Karp, 2019, p. 6). Since achieving good governance in India's cities is difficult due to structural inequalities and public distrust in government induced participatory practices, Menon and Hartz-Karp

(2019, p. 6) propose incorporating an independent third party, tasked with overseeing good governance. Involving an independent third party to help facilitate citizen participation in the planning and managing of a new town could be extremely helpful in the Moroccan new towns, especially since a lot has been asked of Al Omrane—the semi-public management company established to implement the national vision of both slum resettlement and new town development and a lot is being asked of local rural communes. Neither entities have the resources or capacity to facilitate a comprehensive process that involves the voices of local communities from the very beginning until well after the new town is significantly occupied.

During the two-day convention, entitled New Towns, Satellite Cities, held by the National Council for Housing and Town Planning on December 14 and 15 2004, officials expressed the importance not only to meet the needs of populations, but also *anticipate* them (VNDT, 2007). Yet neither public opinion, nor the opinions of local governments, were not sought in any of the decisions made in Tamesna and Tamansourt, even in areas where existing populations were present and one of the goals of the program was to set up areas for future urban expansion to "supplement" activities in neighboring areas. The way in which the VNP currently operates does not provide room for local intervention and input. As a top-down development strategy, central government takes the initial decision to create new towns, then appoints development corporations, such as Al Omrane (which has no democratic accountability), to implement the new city. A national and local level inter-ministerial progress committee is put together to monitor the progress of the new towns. Local governments and communities are detached from the process until after the physical infrastructure is in place. A more deliberate and integrated participatory process can lead to better governance in the new towns and their long-term sustainability. One of the most important parts of deliberative democracy structures is "participant inclusivity and representativeness" (Menon & Hartz-Karp, 2019). To achieve ideal representation of the populations involved methods of random selection and stratified sampling have been proposed (ibid). In Tamesna and Tamansourt, for example, an ideal representation of the population could be easily achieved by incorporating the voices of pre-existing and surrounding neighborhoods (*douars*), slum resettlement populations from nearby cities,

and new incoming residents as they populate housing development complexes and single-family residential neighborhoods. While new towns are generally built for a non-resident population, in the case of Morocco's new towns, the local governments do in fact have some idea of which slums and informal settlements (*douars*) within their vicinity will need to be relocated into the new towns, an embedded participatory process could ensure the voices of those often-marginalized communities are heard.

Involving local governments at the outset of a new town project will allow for more participatory planning. The Moroccan Government has already begun to empower local governments as part of their early 2000's decentralization strategy. The Dahir of 3 October 2002 on the organization of rural and urban communes was passed to enable communes to enter partnership agreements necessary to help them fulfil their management responsibilities. (For example: contracting with waste management and public transportation companies) (World Bank, 2011). The Dahir also has a "Communal Charter" that transfers the responsibilities for promoting economic and social development, urban development and spatial planning, health and environment and socio-cultural facilities and activities to communes. Communes are required to prepare an annual economic and social development plan and to enforce spatial development plans, adopt communal construction regulations and implement or participate in implementing urban restructuring and housing programs (such as the VSBP and the VNP). The charter also renders communes responsible for the establishment and management of commercial and industrial infrastructure (for example, wholesales markets, slaughterhouses, and grain silos), and allows them to establish partnerships necessary to fulfil their responsibilities. The Commune of Harbeel, in which Tamansourt is located, has already begun taking advantage of these enabling strategies to creatively solve the local transportation crisis in Tamansourt. Following Morocco's 2011 Constitution's orders to empower the civic sector, the Commune of Harbeel has partnered with civic groups based in local semi-informal neighborhoods (*douars*) to ensure school transportation is available to connect students from surrounding *douars* to schools in Tamansourt (Tamansourt, 03/26-274, 2019). This example shows how recognizing civic society as active "partners" in local governance is beneficial. Additionally, in an interview with a vice president of Harbeel Commune, he also shared their efforts relative to local public transportation within

Tamansourt. One recommendation was to allow horse carriages/wagons to operate locally in lieu of local "petit" taxis. The horse and carriage proposal, he explained, is characteristic of the *medina* of Marrakech and could potentially provide Tamansourt with a unique identity that draws from the "beauty" of the *medina* in Marrakech (ibid). Still, it is important to note that local governments and elected officials operate based on "terms of office" and many times local officials operate with a focus on "impact and legacy", focusing on their own needs and gains over the needs of local inhabitants. Additionally, local elected officials may operate under the same assumptions as those of modernist elites. In my conversations with local officials, it was clear that they may also seek to achieve outcomes that are consistent with modern ideals and their own perception of an ideal urban environment. For example, in Harbeel Commune, one of their current priorities was to build a new "one-hectare" headquarters for the commune "something that would match [the standards of] the *medina*" (Tamansourt, 03/26-274, 2019).

Addressing the gap between national developmental agendas and inhabitants' needs on the ground is an issue of governance (Habitat III Policy Unit 4, 2016). To create more desirable new towns, we need to come up with a balance between the rationalities of the governing and the rationalities of the communities being governed. At some point in the development of Tamesna and Tamansourt, state officials and Al Omrane will need to step away from their technical responsibilities of constructing a completely new city and allow local governments and new town residents to claim management of the new towns. While Harbeel Commune and the current elected officials are clearly working hard to improve Tamansourt, including the voices of residents can add great value to their current efforts. Meaningful participation Menan and Hartz-Karp (2019, p. 6) note, "does not imply giving less importance to expert and technocratic views. Rather, it highlights that the values and considered views of the community involved are also important and should influence decisions made". The recognition that there are other voices within civil society that might have valuable and valid insights is important especially for cities in the Global South where planning is often top-down (Watson, 2009a, p. 2272). The existing culture of professional elitism continues to make ordinary citizens feel like their knowledge is "not 'important enough'" (J. D. Porteous, 1989, p. 232). My own experience with new town residents,

especially women I sought to interview about their experiences living in a new town, was evidence to this. Many women did not want to conduct an interview because they felt they are not "knowledgeable" or were "illiterate" and could therefore not provide my research with value. However, it was those very interviews where I felt that residents know exactly what they need and can offer innovative solutions to reach them. Planners and professionals need to trust what people have to say and invest time focusing on local culture and context and being open to and accepting of indigenous knowledge.

For public participation to be meaningful, different groups should have an influence on the decision-making process. In Tamesna and Tamansourt, this means the voices of street vendors and treporter (3-wheeled) motor drivers and other providers of informal services that contributed to the development of the new towns at an early stage need to be heard. Without adequate involvement of street vendors in the plans to build a market building in both Tamesna and Tamansourt, for example, these 'expert' solutions to the problems arising from unplanned and informal activity could prove inadequate in the long run. The transition from "constructing" a new town to "governing" a new town is an important area to focus on. Institutionalizing public participation and community action planning strategies in Morocco's new towns is an important step for shifting beyond "planning" the physical new towns and towards "inhabiting" them. A deliberate platform for public participation has the potential to empower marginalized populations, improve livelihoods and the quality of life of new town residents, in general, leading to more just and inclusive cities that are enjoyed and valued by their residents.

Conclusion

This dissertation has shown the very real clash of rationalities in the Moroccan New Towns between the "will to survive" by local residents and program beneficiaries and the "will to govern" by the State and elite officials (Watson, 2009a, p. 2269). The formal adjustments made and responses to the challenges faced by the VNP and to the alleged failure of Tamesna and Tamansourt remain goal-oriented towards goals made by elite professionals to further regulate the VNP through legislation, more expert control through inter-ministerial oversight, to mobilize more funds to build more structures, and to "wait"

because "new towns take time to develop". There is no room for innovation, flexibility in governance, and the voice of locals in these solutions. To move forward with Morocco's new towns, we must first acknowledge that the planning tools used to create the VNP are based on assumptions originated in the Global North that do not necessarily hold true in the Moroccan context. As planners continue to be caught up between two conflicting rationalities of control, order and development on the one side and survival and local adaptations on the other, a key task for planners is to explore new and innovative ways to deal with conflicting rationalities by paying close attention to the interface between "the rationality of governing and the rationality of survival" (Watson, 2009a, p. 2268).

The restrictions and constraints under which planners must work are imposed by the planners themselves (J. D. Porteous, 1989). Therefore, the potential for positive change in planning is there, especially relative to Morocco's VNP, whereby a legal framework defining the program is still underway, and serious efforts are being made to ensure the program succeeds in creating a series of well-established satellite towns. There has been a call for cities in the Global South to shift from traditional master planning and urban modernist forms as methods for addressing the key challenges of of the 21st century towards rights-based, sustainability focused urban development (Parnell et al., 2009; Watson, 2009b, p. 189; Habitat III Policy Unit 4, 2016). It is not too late for Morocco's new towns to shift towards more culturally and contextually appropriate sustainable solutions.

References

Abubakar, I. R., & Doan, P. L. (2010). New Towns in Africa: Modernity and/or Decentralization. *53rd African Studies Association Annual Meetings*.

Abubakar, I. R., & Doan, P. L. (2017). Building new capital cities in Africa: Lessons for new satellite towns in developing countries. *African Studies*, *76*(4), 546–565. https://doi.org/10.1080/00020184.2017.1376850

Abu-Lughod, J. L. (1980). *Rabat, Urban Apartheid in Morocco*. Princeton University Press.

Abu-Lughod, J. L. (1987). The Islamic City – Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *19*(2), 155–176. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020743800031822

Abu-Lughod, J. L. (2012). The Islamic City: Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance. In H. Amirahmadi & S. El-Shakhs (Eds.), *Urban development in the Muslim world* (pp. 10–35). Transaction Publishers. (Original work published 1987)

Abun-Nasr, J. M. (1971). *A History of the Maghrib*. Cambridge [Eng.] University Press, 1971. https://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u541189

Abun-Nasr, J. M. (1987). *A history of the Maghrib in the Islamic period*. Cambridge University Press.

AFD. (n.d.). *Cities without Slums Project Description* [Development Finance Institution]. Agence Francaise de Developpement. http://www.afd.fr/home/pays/mediterranee-et-moyen-orient/geo/maroc?actuCtnId=37837

Al Omrane. (2013). *4 Villes Nouvelles* [Private-public development company]. Groupe AlOmrane. http://www.alomrane.ma/fr/metiers-programmes-r7/villes-nouvelles-c66/

Al Omrane Group. (2010). *Al Omrane, Leading Actor for Settlements Upgrading*. http://mirror.unhabitat.org/downloads/docs/9117_8087_Al_OmraneGroup_Morocco.pdf

Al Omrane Tamansourt. (n.d.). *Residence Jacaranda: Projet Pilote D'efficacite Energetique Dans La Region De Marrakech Tensift Al Haouz* [Powerpoint Presentation].

Al Omrane Tamansourt. (2013, February 4). *Tamansourt Plan de Relance* [Powerpoint Presentation].

Al Omrane Tamesna. (2018, October 28). *Etat d'Avancement du Plan de Relance de la Ville Nouvelle de Tamesna (Update on the Status of Tamesna's Recovery Plan)* [Powerpoint Presentation].

Alexander, A. (2009). *Britain's New Towns: Garden Cities to Sustainable Communities*. Routledge.

Al-Hathloul, S. (1980). *The Arab- Muslim City: Tradition, Continuity and Change in the Physical Environment* [Ph.D. Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology]. http://hdl.handle.net/1721.1/46401

Al-Hathloul, S. (2005). *Legislation and the Built Environment in the Arab-Muslim City* [Essay on a presentation made by Saleh al-Hathloul to Diwan al-Mimar on April 22, 2002]. Center for the Study of the Built Environment (CSBE), Jordan.

Al-Hathloul, S. A. (1996). *The Arab-Muslim city: Tradition, continuity and change in the physical environment*. Dar Al Sahan.

Alissa, R. (2013). *Building for Oil: Corporate Colonialism, Nationalism and Urban Modernity in Ahmadi, 1946-1992*.

Alonso, R., & García Rey, M. (2007). The Evolution of Jihadist Terrorism in Morocco. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *19*(4), 571–592. https://doi.org/10.1080/09546550701606580

AlSayyad, N. (1981). *Streets of Islamic Cairo; A Configuration of Urban Themes and Patterns*. Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, Cambridge.

AlSayyad, N. (1987). Space in an Islamic City: Some Urban Design Patterns. *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, *4*(2), 108–119. JSTOR.

AlSayyad, N. (1996). The Study of Islamic Urbanism: An Historiographic Essay. *Built Environment (1978-)*, *22*(2), 91–97. JSTOR.

AlSayyad, N. (2004). Urban Informality as a "New" Way of Life. In A. Roy & N. AlSayyad (Eds.), *Urban informality: Transnational perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America, and South Asia* (pp. 7–30). Lexington Books ; Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of California at Berkeley.

Al-Zubaidi, M. S. S. (2007). *The sustainability potential of traditional architecture in the Arab world - with reference to domestic buildings in the UAE* [Doctoral Thesis]. University of Huddersfield.

Amirahmadi, H., & El-Shakhs, S. (Eds.). (2012). *Urban development in the Muslim world*. Transaction Publishers.

ATEO Agency. (2017, October 26). *SPOT TV ADDOHA -ATEO- Ramadan 2017, KADEM SAHER*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HSq9xyfzqog

Attia, A. S. (2020). Traditional multi-story house (Tower House) in Sana'a City, Yemen. An example of sustainable architecture. *Alexandria Engineering Journal*, *59*(1), 381–387. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.aej.2020.01.001

Avermaete, T. (2010). Framing the Afropolis: Michel Ecochard and the African City for the Greatest Number. *OASE. Architectural Journal*, *83*, 77–101.

Ayala, A., van Eerd, M., & Geurts, E. (2019). Affordable, Available, Accessible and Acceptable Housing in African New Towns. In R. Keeton & M. Provoost (Eds.), *To Build a City in Africa: A History and a Manual* (pp. 410–418). Nai010 uitgevers.

Balgey, D. (2015). *Morocco's Fragmented Land Regime: An Analysis of Negotiating and Implementing Land Tenure Policies* (IPE Summer Research Grant Report) [Grant Report]. University of Puget Sound. https://www.pugetsound.edu/files/resources/balgley.pdf

Balgey, D. (2017). *Agrarian Capitalism and the Privatization of Collective Land in Morocco*.

Balgley, D. (2019). Assembling Land Access and Legibility: The Case of Morocco's Gharb Region. In T. Bartley (Ed.), *Research in Political Sociology* (Vol. 26, pp. 123–148). Emerald Publishing Limited. https://doi.org/10.1108/S0895-993520190000026010

Ballout, J.-M. (2017). An Interim Assessment of the Program of New Cities in Morocco. *EMAM Papers [Online]*, *29*. https://doi.org/10.4000 / emam.1316

Baqutayan, S. M. S., Ariffin, A. S., Mohsin, M. I. A., & Mahdzir, A. M. (2018). Waqf Between the Past and Present. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, *9*(4), 149–155. https://doi.org/10.2478/mjss-2018-0124

Barthel, P.-A., & Zaki, L. (2011). Les holdings d'aménagement, nouvelles vitrines techniques de l'action urbaine au Maroc: Les cas d'Al Omrane et de la CDG Développement. In L. Zaki & Maʿhad al-Buḥūṯ al-Maġāribīya al-Muʿāṣira (Eds.), *L' action urbaine au Maghreb: Enjeux professionnels et politiques* (pp. 205–225). Éd. Karthala [u.a.].

Bayat, A. (1997). *Street politics: Poor people's movements in Iran*. Columbia University Press.

Bayat, A. (2000). From `Dangerous Classes' to `Quiet Rebels': Politics of the Urban Subaltern in the Global South. *International Sociology*, *15*(3), 533–557. https://doi.org/10.1177/026858000015003005

Bayat, A. (2004). Globalization and the Politics of the Informals in the Global South. In A. Roy & N. AlSayyad (Eds.), *Urban informality: Transnational perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America, and South Asia*. Lexington Books; Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of California at Berkeley.

Behbehani, F. M., Alberti, C., & Bassett, E. M. (2019). *Towards Culture-Based Sustainable Development: The Case of Morocco's New Towns* [Paper presented at the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP) Conference, Greenville, SC, October 24th – 27th 2019.].

Bekkouche, A. (1998). Navez-Bouchanine, Françoise: Living in the Moroccan city Living in the Moroccan city. *Insaniyat*, *5*(Algerian Cities), 152–154.

Benchenna, A., Ksikes, D., & Marchetti, D. (2017). The media in Morocco: A highly political economy, the case of the paper and on-line press since the early 1990s. *The Journal of North African Studies*, *22*(3), 386–410. https://doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2017.1307906

Benslimane, N., Biara, R. W., & Bougdah, H. (2020). Traditional Versus Contemporary Dwellings in a Desert Environment: The Case of Bechar, Algeria. *Environmental Research, Engineering & Management*, *76*(4). Environment Complete. https://doi.org/10.5755/j01.erem.76.4.21595

Berber Dahir (Decree). (1930). Issued May 16, 1930.

Berner, E., Gomez, G., & Knorringa, P. (2012). 'Helping a Large Number of People Become a Little Less Poor': The Logic of Survival Entrepreneurs. *The European Journal of Development Research*, *24*(3), 382–396. https://doi.org/10.1057/ejdr.2011.61

Bianca, S. (2000). *Urban form in the Arab world: Past and present*. Thames & Hudson.

Bluegreen boradcast. (2011, August 4). *Spot Addoha Atabou Ramadan 2011*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Icn6UJZ6gKs

Bogaert, K. (2011). The Problem of Slums: Shifting Methods of Neoliberal Urban Government in Morocco. *Development and Change*, *42*(3), 709–731. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2011.01706.x

Bogaert, K. (2018). *Globalized authoritarianism: Megaprojects, slums, and class relations in urban Morocco*. Univ Of Minnesota Press.

Bouderbala, N. (1999). Les systèmes de propriété foncière au Maghreb. Le cas du Maroc. In Jouve A.-M. & N. Bouderbala (Eds.), *Politiques foncières et aménagement des structures agricoles dans les pays méditerranéens: À la mémoire de Pierre* (pp. 47–66). http://ressources.ciheam.org/om/pdf/c36/CI020475.pdf

Bourdieu, P. (2008). Habitus. In J. Hillier & E. Rooksby (Eds.), *Habitus: A sense of place* (2. ed., repr, pp. 43–49). Ashgate.

Branch, M. C. (1983). Common Characteristics of New Towns. *Cities*, *1*(2), 146–149.

Brenner, N. (2004). *New state spaces: Urban governance and the rescaling of statehood*. Oxford University Press.

Cambridge Dictionary. (2021). Definition of "throughabout." In *Cambridge Dictionary*. Cambridge University Press. https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/throughabout

Campbell, H. (2002). Planning: An Idea of Value. *The Town Planning Review*, *73*(3), 271–288. JSTOR.

Capital City Partners. (2015). *The Capital Cairo*. http://thecapitalcairo.com/

Carson, L., & Hartz-Karp, J. (2005). Adapting and combining deliberative designs: Juries, polls, and forums. In J. Gastil & P. Levine (Eds.), *The deliberative democracy handbook: Strategies for effective civic engagement in the twenty-first century* (pp. 120–138).

Cattedra, R. (2010). Les grands projets urbains à la conquête des périphéries. *Les Cahiers d'EMAM*, *19*, 58–72. https://doi.org/10.4000/emam.114

Chabal, P., & Daloz, J.-P. (1999). *Africa works: Disorder as political instrument*. International African Institute in association with James Currey, Oxford; Indiana University Press.

Chakravarty, A. (2013). *State-Led Neoliberalism? Exploring the Politics of Urban Land Development in India* [Master's Thesis]. The University of Guelph.

Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing grounded theory* (2nd edition). Sage.

Chen, X., Wang, L., & Kundu, R. (2009). Localizing the Production of Global Cities: A Comparison of New Town Developments around Shanghai and Kolkata. *City & Community*, *8*(4), 433–465. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6040.2009.01301.x

Clapson, M. (2017). The English new towns since 1946: What are the lessons of their history for their future? *Histoire Urbaine*, *3*(50), 87–105.

Clapson, Mark. (1998). Community and association in Milton Keynes. In M. Dobbin, P. Waterman, M. Clapson, & S. B. De Monchaux (Eds.), *The best laid plans: Milton Keynes since 1967* (pp. 101–108). University of Luton Press.

Clapson, Mark. (2002). Suburban Paradox? Planners' Intentions and Residents' Preferences in Two New Towns of the 1960s: Reston, Virginia and Milton Keynes, England. *Planning Perspectives*, *17*(2), 145–162. https://doi.org/10.1080/02665430110111856

Clark, B. (2003). Ebenezer Howard and the Marriage of Town and Country: An Introduction to Howard's "Garden Cities of To-morrow" (Selections). *Organization & Environment*, *16*(1), 87–97. JSTOR.

CMI. (2019). *Urban and Territorial Development Projects in the Mediterranean: A Compendium of Experiences of the Center for Mediterranean Integration (CMI) Urban Hub* (p. 88). Center for Mediterranean Integration.

Corbin, J. M., & Strauss, A. L. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (3rd ed). Sage Publications, Inc.

Correia, J., & Taher, M. (2015). Traditional Islamic Cities Unveiled: The Quest for Urban Design Regularity. *Editorial Restauro Compas Y Canto*, *4*. https://editorialrestauro.com.mx/traditional-islamic-cities-unveiled-the-quest-for-urban-design-regularity/

Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed method approaches* (2nd ed). Sage Publications.

Crinson, M. (1997). Abadan: Planning and architecture under the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. *Planning Perspectives*, *12*(3), 341–359. https://doi.org/10.1080/026654397364681

Daadaoui, M. (2011). The Makhzen and State Formation in Morocco. In M. Daadaoui (Ed.), *Moroccan Monarchy and the Islamist Challenge: Maintaining Makhzen Power* (pp. 41–70). Palgrave Macmillan US. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230120068_3

Dahir on Collective Lands (Decree). (1919). Issued April 27, 1919. http://www.sgg.gov.ma/BO/fr/1919/bo_340_fr.pdf

de Soto, H. (2000). *The mystery of capital: Why capitalism triumphs in the West and fails everywhere else* (paperback ed.). Basic Books.

de Soto, H. (2002). *The other path: The economic answer to terrorism*. Basic Books. (Original work published 1986)

Denzin, N. K. (1978). *The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods* (2d ed). McGraw-Hill.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2000). *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed). Sage Publications.

Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG). (2006). *Transferable Lessons from the New Towns* (No. 06HC03919; p. 112). Department of Planning, Oxford Brookes University.

Desponds, D., & Auclair, E. (2017). The new towns around Paris 40 years later. *Urban Studies*, *54*(4), 862–877. JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.2307/26151383

Doxiadis, C. (1968). *Ekistics: Introduction to the Science of Human Settlements* (1st ed.). Oxford University Press.

Duke II, D. M. (2016). *Manufacturing Consent in the Maghreb: How Mohammed VI of Morocco Survived the Arab Spring* [Master's Thesis, Portland State University]. https://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4436&context=open_access_etds

Eickelman, D. F. (1974). Is There an Islamic City? The Making of a Quarter in a Moroccan Town. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *5*(3), 274–294. JSTOR.

Ekeh, P. P. (1975). Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *17*(01), 91–112. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417500007659

Errihani, M. (2006). Language policy in Morocco: Problems and prospects of teaching Tamazight. *The Journal of North African Studies*, *11*(2), 143–154. https://doi.org/10.1080/13629380600704803

Errihani, M. (2008a). *Language Policy in Morocco Implications of Recognizing and Teaching Berber*. https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:101:1-201008053418

Errihani, M. (2008b). Language attitudes and language use in Morocco: Effects of attitudes on 'Berber1 language policy.' *The Journal of North African Studies*, *13*(4), 411–428. https://doi.org/10.1080/13629380701800492

Errihani, M. (2016). Language and social distinction: Speaking Darija with the right accent. *The Journal of North African Studies*, *21*(5), 741–764. https://doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2016.1212706

Espaces Saada. (2013, July 15). *Espaces Saada avec Shahrukh khan: Campagne Ramadan 2013*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yGNsiBwrWbQ

Espaces Saada. (2015a, June 18). *Ahmed Chaouki pour Espaces Saada: Ramadan 2015*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nvLIPz24K2s

Espaces Saada. (2015b, June 18). *Zina Daoudia pour Espaces Saada: Ramadan 2015*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RYFo5P_a8RQ

Espaces Saada. (2018, May 24). *Espaces Saada—Asma Lmnawar—Ramadan 2018*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A1BZJ8wimag

Falconer, B. H. (1968). Agadir, Morocco, reconstruction   work six years after the earthquake   of February 1960. *Bulletin of the New Zealand Society for Earthquake Engineering*, *1*(2), 72–91. https://doi.org/10.5459/bnzsee.1.2.72-91

Forsyth, A. (2002). Planning Lessons from Three U.S. New Towns of the 1960s and 1970s: Irvine, Columbia, and the Woodlands. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, *68*(4), 387–415.

Forsyth, A. (2005). *Reforming suburbia: The planned communities of Irvine, Columbia, and The Woodlands*. University of California Press.

Frantzeskakis, I. M. (2009). Islamabad, a town planning example for a sustainable city. *Sustainable Development and Planning IV*, *1*(75). https://doi.org/10.2495/SDP090081

Friedmann, J. (1986). The World City Hypothesis. *Development and Change*, *17*(1), 69–83. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.1986.tb00231.x

Friedmann, J. (1995). Where we stand: A decade of world city research. In P. L. Knox & P. J. Taylor (Eds.), *World cities in a world-system* (pp. 21–47). Cambridge University Press.

Gaber, J., & Gaber, S. (2007). *Qualitative Analysis for Planning and Policy: Beyond the Numbers*. Planners Press.

Gamage, S. (2015). Globalization, Neoliberal Reforms and Inequality: A Review of Conceptual Tools, Competing Discourses, Responses, and Alternatives. *Journal of Developing Societies*, *31*(1), 8–27. https://doi.org/10.1177/0169796X14562126

Ghannam, F. (2002). *Remaking the Modern: Space, Relocation, and the Politics of Identity in a Global Cairo*. University of California Press.

Ghertner, D. A. (2011). Nuisance Talk and the Propriety of Property: Middle Class Discourses of a Slum-Free Delhi. *Antipode*, *44*(4), 1161–1187. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2011.00956.x

Giddens, A. (1997). *The consequences of modernity* (6th pr). Stanford Univ. Press. (Original work published 1990)

Glaser, B. G. (1978). *Theoretical sensitivity*. Soc. Pr.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (2009). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research* (4. paperback printing). Aldine. (Original work published 1967)

Graham, S., & Marvin, S. (2001). *Splintering urbanism: Networked infrastructures, technological mobilities and the urban condition*. Routledge.

Groupe Addoha. (2012a, July 26). *Groupe ADDOHA - Malhama—Ramadan 2012*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yqDI5vjtDaI&t=7s

Groupe Addoha. (2012b, July 26). *Groupe ADDOHA - Samira Said—Ramadan 2012*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ieK5ztpn9Fw

Groupe Addoha. (2014, June 30). *Groupe Addoha—Saad Lamjarred—Enty 2014*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gxx6_MSP28A

Habitat III Policy Unit 4. (2016). *Urban Governance, Capacity and Institutional Development* (Habitat III Policy Unit) [Habitat III Policy Paper].

Hall, P., & Pfeiffer, U. (2000). *Urban future 21: A global agenda for twenty-first century cities*. E & FN Spon.

Harris, R. (2018). Modes of Informal Urban Development: A Global Phenomenon. *Journal of Planning Literature*, *33*(3), 267–286. https://doi.org/10.1177/0885412217737340

Harvey, D. (1985). *The Urbanization of Capital*. Blackwell.

Hoffman, K. E. (2010). Berber Law by French Means: Customary Courts in the Moroccan Hinterlands, 1930-1956. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *52*(4), 851–880. JSTOR.

Holston, J. (1989). *The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasília*. University of Chicago Press.

Hourani, A. H., & Stern, S. M. (Eds.). (1970). *The Islamic City: A Colloquium*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Howard, E. (1898). *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*. Cambridge Library Collection.

Howard, E. (1902). *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*. London, S. Sonnenschein & co., ltd. (Original work published 1898)

Ilahiane, H. (2006). *Historical dictionary of the Berbers (Imazighen)*. Scarecrow Press, Inc.

INAU. (n.d.). *Institut National d'Aménagement et d'urbanisme (National Institute of Development and Town Planning Morocco)*. Retrieved January 10, 2021, from https://inau.ac.ma/

INTI. (2017). King Mohammed VI Green City (Ville Verte Mohammed VI), Morocco, Africa. *International New Towns Initiative*. http://www.newtowninstitute.org/newtowndata/newtown.php?newtownId=1903

Irazabal, C. (2004). A Planned City Comes of Age: Rethinking Ciudad Guayana Today. *Journal of Latin American Geography*, *3*(1), 22–51.

Jacobs, J. (2011). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (50th anniversary ed., 2011 Modern Library ed.). (Original work published 1961)

Jeannotte, M. S. (2016). Story-telling about place: Engaging citizens in cultural mapping. *City, Culture and Society*, *7*(1), 35–41. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ccs.2015.07.004

Joffe, G. (1988). Morocco: Monarchy, Legitimacy and Succession. *Third World Quarterly*, *10*(1), 201–228. JSTOR.

Johnson, K. M. (1972). *Urbanization in Morocco. An International Urbanization Survey Report to the Ford Foundation* [International Urbanization Survey]. The Ford Foundation.

Kech24 News. (2019, October 23). The Absence of Spaces for Play Turns an Iron Bridge into a Sanctuary for Tamansourt Children. *Kech24 Online News Outlet*.

Keep, M. (2017). *Local Responses to Slum Resettlement: The Case of Tamesna, Morocco* [Master's Capstone Project]. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Keeton, R., & Provoost, M. (Eds.). (2019). *To Build a City in Africa: A History and a Manual*. Nai010 uitgevers.

Kennedy, M. M. (1979). Generalizing from Single Case Studies. *Evaluation Quarterly*, *3*(4), 661–678. https://doi.org/10.1177/0193841X7900300409

Kingdom of Morocco. (1962). *Morocco's 1962 Constitution*.

Kingdom of Morocco. (2011). *Morocco's Constitution of 2011*.

Lahboub, Y. (2020, May 25). Green City of Benguerir, A New City in the Time of COVID-19 [Non-profit]. *New Cities*. https://newcities.org/the-big-picture-green-city-benguerir-new-city-time-covid-19/

Le Secrétariat Général du Conseil National de l'Habitat et de l'Urbanisme. (2004). *Rencontres du Secretariat General du Conseil National de L'Habitat et de L'Urbanisme 14 et 15 Décembre 2004. Villes nouvelles—Villes satellites. Rapport Introductif*. Kingdom of Morocco.

Leck, E., Bekhor, S., & Gat, D. (2008). Equity impacts of transportation improvements on core and peripheral cities. *Journal of Transport and Land Use*, *1*(2), 153–182. JSTOR.

Lefebvre, H. (1971). *Vers le cybernanthrope: Contre les technocrates* (2nd ed.). Denoël/Gonthier.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. Blackwell. http://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u4000268 (Original work published 1974)

Lefebvre, H. (1995). Notes on the New Town (April 1960). In J. Moore (Trans.), *Introduction to Modernity: Twelve Preludes* (pp. 116–126). Verso.

Lefebvre, H. (2009). Space and the State. In N. Brenner & S. Elden (Eds.), *State, Space, World: Selected Essays* (pp. 223–253). University of Minnesota Press. (Original work published 1978)

Lefebvre, H. (2014). *Toward an architecture of enjoyment* (Ł. Stanek, Ed.; R. Bononno, Trans.). University of Minnesota Press. (Original work published 1973)

LeGates, R. T., & Stout, F. (Eds.). (1998). *Early urban planning: 1870 - 1940*. Thoemmes Press.

Leitner, H., Peck, J., & Sheppard, E. S. (2019). *Urban studies inside/out: Theory, method, practice*.

Leitner, H., & Sheppard, E. (2016). Provincializing Critical Urban Theory: Extending the Ecosystem of Possibilities: DEBATES & DEVELOPMENTS. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *40*(1), 228–235. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12277

Lesley, L. (1983). Runcorn A Rapid Transit New Town? *Built Environment (1978-)*, *9*(3/4), 232–244. JSTOR.

Lofland, J., Snow, D. A., Anderson, L., & Lofland, L. H. (2006). *Analyzing social settings: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis* (4th ed). Wadsworth/Thomson Learning.

MacKenzie, E. (1994). *Privatopia: Homeowner associations and the rise of residential private government*. Yale Univ. Press.

Mahgoub, Y. (1997). *Sustainable Architecture in the United Arab Emirates: Past and Present* [Paper]. CAA-IIA International Conference on Urbanism & Housing, Goa, India.

Mandelker, D. R. (2010). *Designing planned communities*. iUniverse. http://law.wustl.edu/landuselaw/BookDPC/Designing%20Planned%20Communities.pdf

Mansuri, G., & Rao, V. (2012). *Localizing Development: Does Participation Work?* The World Bank. https://doi.org/10.1596/978-0-8213-8256-1

Marçais, W. (1928). L'islamisme et la vie urbaine. *l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 86–100.

Martin, R. J., & Mathema, A. S. (2008). *Housing Finance for the Poor in Morocco: Programs, Policies and Institutions* (MicroREPORT No. 96). USAID, United States Agency for International Development.

Massey, D. B. (2005). *For space*. SAGE.

Mazraeh, H. M., & Pazhouhanfar, M. (2018). Effects of vernacular architecture structure on urban sustainability case study: Qeshm Island, Iran. *Frontiers of Architectural Research*, *7*(1). ScienceDirect. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.foar.2017.06.006

Mazzuco, S. C. (2016). *Repurposing Underused Public Spaces into Urban Commons An active participatory urban regeneration model for Gospel Oak London, UK* [Master's Thesis, Bartlett School of Planning, UCL]. issuu.com/sofiacrosomazzuco/docs/sofia_croso_mazzuco_urban_commons_-

Meller, H. E. (1973). Patrick Geddes; An Analysis of His Theory of Civics, 1880-1904. *Victorian Studies*, *16*(3), 291–315. JSTOR.

Menon, S., & Hartz-Karp, J. (2019). Institutional innovations in public participation for improved local governance and urban sustainability in India. *Sustainable Earth*, *2*(1), 6. https://doi.org/10.1186/s42055-019-0013-x

Merlin, P. (1980). The New Town Movement in Europe. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *451*, 76–85.

Merrifield, A. (2006). *Henri Lefebvre: A critical introduction*. Routledge.

Miller, S. G. (2005). Finding Order in the Moroccan City: The Ḥubus of the Great Mosque of Tangier as an Agent of Urban Change. *Muqarnas*, *22*, 265–283. JSTOR.

Miller, S. G. (2013). *A History of Modern Morocco*. Cambridge University Press. https://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u8178061

Mortada, H. (2003). *Traditional Islamic Principles of Built Environment*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203422687

Mouloudi, H. (2010). Reactions "From Below" to Big Urban Projects: The Case of Rabat. *Built Environment (1978-)*, *36*(2), 230–244. JSTOR.

Mouloudi, H. (2015). Quand les acteurs locaux mobilisent le droit pour s'opposer aux grands projets: L'exemple de l'aménagement de la vallée du Bou Regreg (Rabat-Salé). *Les Cahiers d'EMAM*, *27*. https://doi.org/10.4000/emam.1112

Moustakas, C. E. (1994). *Phenomenological research methods*. Sage.

Mumford, L. (1954). The Neighborhood and the Neighborhood Unit. *The Town Planning Review*, *24*(4), 256–270. JSTOR.

Munshi, I. (2000). Patrick Geddes: Sociologist, Environmentalist and Town Planner. *Economic and Political Weekly*, *35*(6), 485–491. JSTOR.

Myers, G. (2018). The Africa Problem of Global Urban Theory: Re-conceptualising Planetary Urbanisation. *Revue Internationale de Politique de Développement*, *10 | 2018*(10), 231–253. https://doi.org/10.4000/poldev.2739

Myers, G. A. (2011). *African cities: Alternative visions of urban theory and practice*. Zed Books Ltd.

NationMaster. (n.d.). *Morocco Media Stats*. https://www.nationmaster.com/country-info/profiles/Morocco/Media

Navez-Bouchanine, F. (1997). *Habiter la ville marocaine*. G. Morin ; L'Harmattan.

Neuman, W. L. (2006). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (6th ed). Pearson/AandB.

ODPM. (2003). *Sustainable Communities: Building the Future*. Office of the Deputy Prime Minister.

Ong, A., & Roy, A. (Eds.). (2011). *Worlding cities: Asian experiments and the art of being global*. Wiley-Blackwell.

OUALALOU + CHOI. (2013). *Planning of the City Center of Tamansourt* [Architecture Firm Portfolio]. http://www.oualalouchoi.com/portfolio_page/tamansourt-maroc/

Owusu, T. (1999). The Growth of Ashaiman as a Squatter Settlement in the Tema District of Ghana, 1950-1990. *The Arab World Geographer*, *2*(3), 234–249. https://doi.org/10.5555/arwg.2.3.ht57t477j78kr486

Parnell, S., & Oldfield, S. (2016). *The Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South*. http://www.vlebooks.com/vleweb/product/openreader?id=none&isbn=9781136678202

Parnell, S., & Pieterse, E. A. (Eds.). (2014). *Africa's urban revolution*. Zed Books.

Parnell, S., Pieterse, E., & Watson, V. (2009). Planning for cities in the global South: An African research agenda for sustainable human settlements. In H. Blanco & M. Alberti (Eds.), *Progress in Planning* (2nd ed., Vol. 72, pp. 233–240).

Parnell, S., & Robinson, J. (2012). (Re)theorizing Cities from the Global South: Looking Beyond Neoliberalism. *Urban Geography*, *33*(4), 593–617. https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.33.4.593

Parsons, K. C., & Schuyler, D. (Eds.). (2002). *From garden city to green city: The legacy of Ebenezer Howard*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Patton, M. Q. (1999). Enhancing the Quality and Credibility of Qualitative Analysis. *HSR: Health Services Research*, *34*(5 Part II), 1189–1208.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3 ed). Sage Publications. (Original work published 1980)

Peattie, L. R. (1987). *Planning, Rethinking Ciudad Guayana*. University of Michigan Press.

Peck, J. (2015). Cities beyond Compare? *Regional Studies*, *49*(1), 160–182. https://doi.org/10.1080/00343404.2014.980801

Peck, J., & Tickell, A. (2002). Neoliberalizing Space. *Antipode*, *34*(3), 380–404. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8330.00247

Perlman, J. E. (2010). *Favela: Four decades of living on the edge in Rio de Janeiro*. Oxford Univ. Press.

Porteous, J. D. (1977). *Environment & behavior: Planning and everyday urban life*. Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.

Porteous, J. D. (1989). *Planned to death: The annihilation of a place called Howdendyke*. University of Toronto Press.

Porteous, J. D. (John D. (2001). *Domicide: The Global Destruction of Home* (By Request). McGill-Queen's University Press.

Portes, A., Castells, M., & Benton, L. A. (Eds.). (1989). *The Informal economy: Studies in advanced and less developed countries*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Provoost, M. (2015). Exporting New Towns: The Welfare City in Africa. In M. Swenarton, T. Avermaete, D. van den Heuvel, & E. Blau (Eds.), *Architecture and the welfare state* (First edition, pp. 277–298). Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Reblando, J. (2010). New Deal Utopias. *Places Journal*, *2010*. https://doi.org/10.22269/101123

Reblando, J., Egan, N., & Leighninger, R. (2017). *New Deal utopias*. Kehrer.

Ren, J., & Luger, J. (2015). Comparative Urbanism and the 'Asian City': Implications for Research and Theory: Debates & Developments. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *39*(1), 145–156. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12140

Renaud, B. (1981). *National Urbanization Policy in Developing Countries*. Oxford University Press: Published for the World Bank.

Robins, S. (2003). Whose Modernity? Indigenous Modernities and Land Claims after Apartheid. *Development and Change*, *34*(2), 265–286. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-7660.00305

Robinson, J. (2002). Global and world cities: A view from off the map. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *26*(3), 531–554. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.00397

Robinson, J. (2006). *Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development*. Routledge.

Robinson, J. (2011). Cities in a World of Cities: The Comparative Gesture: Cities in a world of cities compared. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *35*(1), 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2010.00982.x

Robinson, J., & Roy, A. (2016). Debate on Global Urbanisms and the Nature of Urban Theory. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *40*(1), 181–186. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12272

Rodwin, L. (1952). England's Town Development Act: 1952: PART I: Background of the Act. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, *18*(4), 175–180. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944365208978939

Roy, A. (2005). Urban Informality. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, *71*(2), 147–158.

Roy, A. (2009a). Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities: Informality, Insurgence and the Idiom of Urbanization. *Planning Theory*, *8*(1), 76–87. https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095208099299

Roy, A. (2009b). The 21st-Century Metropolis: New Geographies of Theory. *Regional Studies*, *43*(6), 819–830. https://doi.org/10.1080/00343400701809665

Roy, A. (2014). Slum-free cities of the Asian century: Postcolonial government and the project of inclusive growth: Slum-free cities of the Asian century. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, *35*(1), 136–150. https://doi.org/10.1111/sjtg.12047

Roy, A. (2016). Worlding the South: Toward a Post-Colonial Urban Theory. In S. Parnell & S. Oldfield (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South*. http://www.vlebooks.com/vleweb/product/openreader?id=none&isbn=9781136678202 (Original work published 2014)

Roy, A., & AlSayyad, N. (Eds.). (2004). *Urban informality: Transnational perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America, and South Asia*. Lexington Books ; Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of California at Berkeley.

Rubenstein, J. M. (1978). *The French new towns*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Rubin, N. E. H. (2011). Geography, colonialism and town planning: Patrick Geddes' plan for mandatory Jerusalem. *Cultural Geographies*, *18*(2), 231–248. JSTOR.

Sassen, S. (1991). *The Global City*. Princeton University Press; JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt2jc93q

Sassen, S. (2000). The Global City: Introducing a Concept. *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, *11*(2), 27–43.

Sater, J. N. (2016). *Morocco: Challenges to tradition and modernity* (Second edition). Routledge.

Saudi Arabian General Investment Authority (SAGIA). (2012). [Government]. Saudi Arabian General Investment Authority (SAGIA). http://ic.gov.sa/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=19&Itemid=119

Schindler, S. (2017). Towards a paradigm of Southern urbanism. *City*, *21*(1), 47–64. https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2016.1263494

Scott, A. J., & Storper, M. (2015). The Nature of Cities: The Scope and Limits of Urban Theory: The nature of cities. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *39*(1), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12134

Scott, J. C. (1998). *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. Yale University Press.

Sheline, A. (2019). Royal Religious Authority: Morocco's 'Commander of the Faithful. *Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy*.

Sheppard, E., Leitner, H., & Maringanti, A. (2013). Provincializing Global Urbanism: A Manifesto. *Urban Geography*, *34*(7), 893–900. https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2013.807977

Shojaee, F., & Paeezeh, M. (2015). Islamic city and urbanism, an obvious example of sustainable architecture and city. *Science Journal (CSJ)*, *36*(6), 231–237.

Simone, A. M. (2004). *For the city yet to come: Changing African life in four cities*. Duke University Press.

SNAT. (2002). *Projet de loi sur l'Aménagement du Territoire: Le Schéma National d'Aménagement du Territoire (SNAT)*. Kingdom of Morocco.

Soliman, A., & Soto, H. de. (2004). *A possible way out: Formalizing housing informality in Egyptian cities*. University Press of America.

Soto, H. de. (1989). *The other path: The invisible revolution in the Third World* (1st ed). Harper & Row.

Splinter, E., & Van Leynseele, Y. (2019). The conditional city: Emerging properties of Kenya's satellite cities. *International Planning Studies*, *24*(3–4), 308–324. https://doi.org/10.1080/13563475.2019.1661831

Stern, R. A. M., Fishman, D., & Tilove, J. (2013). *Paradise planned: The garden suburb and the modern city*. The Monacelli Press.

Stewart, D. J. (1996). Cities in the Desert: The Egyptian New-Town Program. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *86*(3), 459–480. JSTOR.

Storper, M., & Scott, A. J. (2016). Current Debates in Urban Theory: A Critical Assessment. *Urban Studies (Sage Publications, Ltd.)*, *53*(6), 1114–1136. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098016634002

Strauss, A. L. (1987). *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists* (1st ed.). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511557842

Strawhorn, J. (1985). *The history of Irvine: Royal burgh and new town*. J. Donald; Distributed in the U.S.A. by Humanities Press.

Susskind, L. (1973). Planning for New Towns: The Gap Between Theory and Practice. *Sociological Inquiry*, *43*(3/4). Complementary Index. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-682X.1973.tb00011.x

Tamesna Interview 10/11-1. (2018, October 11). *Interview 45/285* [Personal Interview].

Tamesna Interview 11/15-5. (2018, November 15). *Interview 89/285* [Personal Interview].

Teddlie, C., & Tashakkori, A. (2009). *Foundations of Mixed Methods Research: Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches in the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. SAGE.

The Barlow Commission. (1940). *The Barlow Report* (HLG 27). Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population (The Barlow Commission). https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C8722 (Original work published 1937)

The International New Towns Initiative. (n.d.). *About INTI* [Non-profit]. Retrieved February 7, 2021, from http://www.newtowninstitute.org/spip.php?rubrique1

Tipple, A. G. (1986). The new cities of Egypt. *Ekistics*, *53*(316/317), 50–53. JSTOR.

Treaty of Madrid. (1880). Signed July 3, 1880. https://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000001-0071.pdf

Turok, I. (2014). *The Evolution of National Urban Policies: A Global Overview*. UN-Habitat.

Tzfadia, E., & Yiftachel, O. (2004). Between Urban and National: Political Mobilization Among Mizrahim in Israel's 'Development Towns.' *Cities*, *21*(1), 41–55. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2003.10.006

United Nations. (1987). *Brundtland Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future* (Document A/42/427; United Nations General Assembly). http://www.un-documents.net/ocf-ov.htm

United Nations. (2000). *The United Nations Millennium Declaration, Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly. Document A/RES/55/2*. UN General Assembly. https://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f4ea3.html

Unwin, T. (2000). A Waste of Space? Towards a Critique of the Social Production of Space... *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *25*(1), 11–29. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0020-2754.2000.00011.x

Urban Agency of Skhirate-Temara, & El Amrani, Y. (n.d.). *La Ville Nouvelle de Tamesna* [Powerpoint Presentation].

Urban Squad. (2019, May 8). *Addoha Ramadan 2019*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6okkIv_qLSI

Urquhart, C. (2013). *Grounded theory for qualitative research: A practical guide*. SAGE.

van Noorloos, F., & Avianto, D. (2019). New Towns, Old Places. Four Lessons from Konza Techno City, Kenya. In R. Keeton & M. Provoost (Eds.), *To Build a City in Africa: A History and a Manual* (pp. 396–405). Nai010 uitgevers.

VNDT. (2007). *Villes Nouvelles Dossier Thématique (New Towns, Thematic Documents Collection)*. Kingdom of Morocco.

VNVS. (2004). *Rencontres du Secretariat General du Conseil National de l'Habitat et de l'Urbanisme: Villes nouvelles—Villes satellites. 14 et 15 décembre 2004. Rapport Introductif*. Kingdom of Morocco.

Von Gruenbaum, G. E. (1955). *ISLAM. Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition* (R. Redfield & M. Singer, Eds.; Part 2, Vol. 7). American Anthropologist.

Von Gruenbaum, G. E. (1958). The Muslim Town. *Ekistics*, *6*(36), 110–117. JSTOR.

Wakeman, R. (2016). *Practicing Utopia: An Intellectual History of the New Town Movement*. The University of Chicago Press.

Ward, S. V. (2002). The Howard Legacy. In K. C. Parsons & D. Schuyler (Eds.), *From garden city to green city: The legacy of Ebenezer Howard* (pp. 222–244). Johns Hopkins University Press.

Watson, V. (2002). Do We Learn from Planning Practice?: The Contribution of the Practice Movement to Planning Theory. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, *22*(2), 178–187. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X02238446

Watson, V. (2003). Conflicting Rationalities: Implications for Planning Theory and Ethics. *Planning Theory & Practice*, *4*(4), 395–407.

Watson, V. (2009a). Seeing from the South: Refocusing Urban Planning on the Globe's Central Urban Issues. *Urban Studies*, *46*(11), 2259–2275. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098009342598

Watson, V. (2009b). 'The planned city sweeps the poor away…': Urban planning and 21st century urbanisation. *Progress in Planning*, *72*(3), 151–193. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.progress.2009.06.002

Watson, V. (2014). African Urban Fantasies: Dreams or Nightmares? *Environment & Urbanization*, *26*(1), 215–231. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956247813513705

Wei, H., & Mogharabi, A. (2013). Key Issues in Integrating New Town Development into Urban Transportation Planning. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *96*, 2846–2857. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2013.08.317

Whyte, W. H. (2010). *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces* (7. print). Project for Public Spaces. (Original work published 1980)

World Bank. (2006). *Programme villes sans bidonvilles du Maroc: Rapport de l'analyse d'impact social et sur la pauvrete. (French) (Poverty and Social Impact Analysis of Morocco's Cities Without Slums Program)* [Other Poverty Study]. World Bank.

World Bank. (2011). *Decentralization and Deconcentration in Morocco. Cross-Sectoral Status Review.* (No. 69706). http://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/pt/168151468169166242/pdf/697060ESW0P1020n0Sta tusReview0Final.pdf

World Bank. (2018). *Urban population (% of total population)—Morocco* (United Nations Population Division. World Urbanization Prospects: 2018 Revision.). https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.URB.TOTL.IN.ZS?locations=MA

World Bank. (2020). *Employment in agriculture (% of total employment) (modeled ILO estimate)—Morocco*. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.AGR.EMPL.ZS?locations=MA

Yacobi, H. (2016). *Israel and Africa: A genealogy of moral geography*. Routledge.

Yin, R. K. (2014). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (Fifth edition). SAGE. (Original work published 1984)

Zaid, B. (2009). *Public Service Television Policy and National Development in Morocco* [Dissertation, University of South Florida]. https://scholarcommons.usf.edu/etd/100/

Zaid, B. (2014). Quantitative Content Analysis of Moroccan Public Service Television. *Global Media Journal*, *Vol 3*, 3–19.

Appendices

Appendix 1:   Timeline of New Towns in Morocco

Period/Date	New Town	Planner/Developer/Policy	New Town Goals/Reason for Being
French Protectorate/1912	**Rabat** Ville Nouvelle/Agdal	One of ten villes nouvelles planned by Architect Henri Prost following the Louis HG Lyautey's comprehensive urban planning strategies	A neighborhood at the outskirts of the Rabat's *Medina* to house French bureaucrats following the dual city model.
French Protectorate/1915	**Fes** Ville Nouvelle/ Dar Dbibegh	One of Architect/Urban Planner Henri Prost's ten proposed villes nouvelles, following the Louis HG Lyautey's comprehensive urban planning strategies and the dual city model.	Planned following Lyautey's dual city model.
French Protectorate/1919	**Meknes** Ville Nouvelle/Hamira Quarters	One of Architect/Urban Planner Henri Prost's ten proposed villes nouvelles, following the Louis HG Lyautey's comprehensive urban planning strategies and the dual city model.	Planned following Lyautey's dual city model.
French Protectorate/1913/1919	**Marrakech** Ville Nouvelle/Guilez	One of Architect/Urban Planner Henri Prost's ten proposed villes nouvelles, following the Louis HG Lyautey's comprehensive urban planning strategies and the dual city model.	Planned following Lyautey's dual city model.
French Protectorate/1921	**Agadir** Nouvelle Ville	One of Architect/Urban Planner Henri Prost's ten proposed villes nouvelles, following the Louis HG Lyautey's comprehensive urban planning strategies and the dual city model. The Master Plan of Agadir New Town (*Plan directeur de la nouvelle ville d'Agadir*)	Planned following Lyautey's dual city model. Port city, the design situates the "indigenous city" on one plateau, the "administrative plateau" as the military center with administrative buildings and a "European City" facing the sea with homes for caids.
French Protectorate /1923	**Casablanca** New *Medina* Habous Quarter	One of Architect/Urban Planner Henri Prost's ten proposed villes nouvelles, following the Louis	A new "indigenous *Medina*", "*nouvelle ville indigène*".

		HG Lyautey's comprehensive urban planning strategies and the dual city model.	
French Protectorate/1933 & 1946	**Port-Lyautey** (Kenitra)	Originally one of Henri Prost's ten villes nouvelles, following the Louis HG Lyautey's comprehensive urban planning strategies and the dual city model. After the 1946 fire, the *Plan d'Aménagement de Port-Lyautey* which also follows the dual city model was realized by French Architect/Urban Planner Michel Écochard.	The plan came in the aftermath of the 1946 fire that destroyed slums housing upto 20,000 inhabitants. The plan was part of an industrial decentralization scheme to extend a middle-class residential quarter on the West, and a Moroccan housing area extending East from the old *medina* close to industrial activity planned by the port.
Post-Colonial Era/1960s	**Agadir** New City	The High Commission for reconstruction of Agadir, a special authority established by the Council of the Kingdom of Morocco	A new city development plan "Agadir: Plan Directeur", to reconstruct the city of Agadir in the aftermath of the 1960's earthquake of Agadir. The plan is to accommodate 55,000 people over a 20-year period.
Post-Colonial Era/mid-1970s	**Hay Al Riad**, Rabat	Part of the 1972 Master Plan of Rabat-Sale Region (SDAU-*Schema Directeur d' Amenagement Urbain de la Region du Rabat-Salé*), it is a project of the Ministry of Housing, Urbanism, Tourism and the Environment (MHUTE) in agreement with the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of the Interior.	1,500 Hectares

The goal of the 1972 SDAU was to guide future expansion of Rabat. The location for Hay Al Riad was selected because it was made up of primarily Guich land which could be easily attainable. Hay Al Riad (meaning Garden District) is a literal |

			translation of "Garden City".
Post-Colonial Era/1980	**Assif Housing**, Marrakech	The regional construction agency of the Moroccan government E.R.A.C. Tensift (*Etablissement Régional d'Amenagement et de Construction*)	A project to provide mass housing housing and a commercial center.
Post-Colonial Era/1984	**Tinghir** Mining Township	A silver mining company that specializes in silver prodection (SMI-*Société Méttallurgique d'Imiter*)	A new town built to provide workforce housing for mine workers in an area where silver reserves were found. Housing and services were added to the already existing village of Tinghir.
Post-Colonial Era/1990s	**Salé El Jadida**	The construction of Salé El Jadida was ordered by King Hassan II	The new city was a result of King Hassan II's order to build a new city near the capital of Rabat and its nearby city Salé. It included a large rehousing project aimed at moving slum dwellers from Sale
21st Century/2004	**Tamansourt**, Marrakech	Built as part of the 2004 New Town Program by Al Omrane Tamansourt, a subsidiary of Group Al Omrane Holding (HAO- *Holding Al Omrane*)	A satellite town planned to relieve the urban pressure from Marrakech and to create housing opportunities for middle and lower-income families.
21st Century/2006	Éco-Cité **Zenata**	Zenata Development Company (SAZ- Société d'Aménagement Zenata), a subsidiary of CDG Group *(Groupe Caisse de Dépôt et de Gestion)*	1, 830 Hectares Economic development, middle class housing. Designed on the basis of three pillars of sustainable development:

			economic, social and environmental
21st Century/2006	**Tagadirt**, Agadir	Al Omrane Holding (HAO-*Holding Al Omrane*)	A satellite town planned to relieve the pressure of illegal settlements located around Agadir.
21st Century/2006	**Jnane Saïss** Développement, Fes	CDG Group *(Groupe Caisse de Dépôt et de Gestion)*	1,054 Hectares A new urban planned in the outskirts of Fes (Aïn Chkef) to meet the urban development needs of the city of Fes.
21st Century/2007	**Tamesna**, Rabat	Built as part of the 2004 New Town Program by Al Omrane Tamesna, a subsidiary of Group Al Omrane Holding (HAO-*Holding Al Omrane*)	A satellite town planned to relieve the urban pressure from Rabat and to create housing opportunities for middle and lower-income families.
21st Century/2007	**Errahma** New Town, Casablanca	Part of the Master Plan of Greater Casablanca (SDAU-*Schema Directeur d' Amenagement Urbain de la Region du Grand Casablanca*). The project is entrusted to the Economic Interest Group (GIE), which is made up of about twenty companies including Addoha, Alliances and Akwa Immobilier	2,500 Hectares Errahma is a new urban pole that was planned to resettle slum and *douar* populations in areas surrounding Casablanca. The project aims to diversify the housing typology and strengthen social mixing.
21st Century/2008	**Sahel Lkhyayta**, Casablanca	Part of the 2004 New Town Program. Developer: Al Omrane Lkhyayta, a subsidiary of Group Al Omrane Holding (HAO-*Holding Al Omrane*)	A satellite town planned to relieve the urban pressure from Casablanca and to create housing opportunities for middle and lower-income families.
21st Century/2009	**Chrafate** New Town	Part of the 2004 New Town Program. Developer: Al Omrane Chrafate, a subsidiary of Group	A satellite town planned to relieve the urban pressure

		Al Omrane Holding (HAO-*Holding Al Omrane*)	from Tangier and to create housing opportunities for middle and lower-income families.
21st Century/2009	The New Town of **Nador**, Marchica	Developer: The Marchica Agency, a publicly owned firm created by decree in June 2009 to carry out the Marchica multidimensional project which includes a series of eco-tourism facilities and urban reconstruction for the Nador, Beni Ansar and Arekmane areas.	2,000 acres A model sustainable city/new ecological city located in the North of Morocco in Nador.
21st Century/2010	**Ville Verte Mohammed VI**, Benguérir	OCP Group (*Office Chérifien des Phosphates*), a private Moroccan company and the world's largest exporter of phosphate fertilizers	A master planned transformation of the existing town of Benguérir into an urban center and leader in environmental sustainability. The new town is designed around the University Mohammed VI Polytechnic (UM6P) which was built first with its student and staff housing and facilities before the rest of the new town construction.
21st Century/2010	**Bouskoura Ville Verte**, Casablanca	Part of the Master Plan of Greater Casablanca (SDAU-*Schema Directeur d' Amenagement Urbain de la Region du Grand Casablanca*). The project is entrusted to the Economic Interest Group (GIE), which is made up of about twenty companies including Addoha, Alliances, Palmeraie Group and Akwa Immobilier.	9,870 Hectares The new development plan includes three areas: Bouskoura Center, the Green City and Lahfaya.
21st Century/2013	**Oued Chbika**, Chbika	Oued Chbika Development, a subsidiary of Orascom Development holding in partnership with CDG Group	1,500 Hectares A luxury tourist and residential new town planned in the south of Morocco,

		(Groupe Caisse de Dépôt et de Gestion)	featuring 5-star hotels, a marina along the Atlantic coast, residential units, public services and leisurely infrastructure surrounded by nature and breathtaking landscapes.
21st Century/2015	**Annasr** Ville Nouvelle, Nouaceur Province Casablanca	Urban Agency of Casablanca in partnership with the Moroccan-Saudi group Garan.	The new city of 150,000 inhabitants will relocate 40,000 slum dwellers from slums in the Casablanca region and will provide diverse housing types from resettlement housing to middle and upper-income villas.
21st Century/2016	**Casa Anfa**, Casablanca	Part of the Master Plan of Greater Casablanca (SDAU-*Schema Directeur d' Amenagement Urbain de la Region du Grand Casablanca*). The project is entrusted to the Anfa Urbanization and Development Agency (AUDA-*Agence d'Urbanisation et de Développement d'Anfa*), a subsidiary of CDG Group *(Groupe Caisse de Dépôt et de Gestion)*	350 Hectares Part of urban renewal and modernization program for Casablanca, to provide the city with a new downtown.
21st Century/2016	**Lahraouyine**, Casablanca	Part of the Master Plan of Greater Casablanca (SDAU-*Schema Directeur d' Amenagement Urbain de la Region du Grand Casablanca*).	Design of a new housing and activities center articulated around natural and landscape resources: water and peri-urban agricultural functions

Appendix 2:   Profile of Selected Units of Analysis

Town 1: Town Tamansourt, Marrakesh   **Town 2: New Town Tamesna, Rabat**

Construction began: 2004	Construction began: 2007
Location: 14km from City of Marrakesh	Location: 20km from capital of Rabat
Area: 1931 Hectares (4772 Acres)	Area: 840 hectares (2076 acres)
Housing Units: 90,000 Units	Housing units: 50,000 units
Intended Occupancy: 450,000 Inhabitants	Intended occupancy: 250,000 inhabitants

Appendix 2:   Profile of Selected Units of Analysis: Tamesna and Tamansourt (continued)

Box 9-1. Profile of Tamansourt. Content from: VNDT. 2007. "Villes Nouvelles Dossier Thématique (New Towns, Thematic Documents Collection)." Kingdom of Morocco. Pg. 80, 126.

Profile of Tamansourt:

Location:
14 km from the center of Marrakech
Located in the Commune of Harbeel
2 nearby industrial zones (Industrial Zone of Sidi Ghanem and Sidi Bou Othman)

Planned Population Density:
300,000 inhabitants
58,000 housing units (approx.)

Slum Absorption:
Rehousing of 30,000 inhabitants (5,000 households) from *bidonville* neighborhoods in Marrakech.

Spatial Distribution:
1180 hectares in area
170 hectares reserved private-public partnership program for 32,550 housing units (about 60% of housing production is reserved for PPP)
70 hectares economic activity zones
160 hectares public facilities
200 hectares green spaces and forestation (100,000 trees including 10,000 palms)
44 hectares to tourism sector
An additional extension of about 500 hectares:
25 hectares for auxiliary forces, 140 hectares for university campus, 150 hectares for industrial park off the Kassab Valley shore, 176 hectares residential, commercial and amenities

Housing Distribution:
22,173 lots divided into:
18,826 economic serviced lots
786 apartment building lots
1162 villa lots
1189 economic activity lots
210 social-educational amenity lots

Appendix 2: Profile of Selected Units of Analysis: Tamesna and Tamansourt (continued)

Box 9-2. Profile of Tamesna. Content from: VNDT. 2007. "Villes Nouvelles Dossier Thématique (New Towns, Thematic Documents Collection)." Kingdom of Morocco. Pg. 117, 126..

Profile of Tamesna:
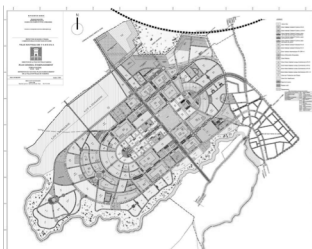
Location:
8 km from Témara, 20 km from Rabat and 15km from Skhirate
Located in the Commune of Sidi Yahia des Zaërs
3 nearby industrial zones (Industrial Zone of Témara, and Ain Atiq and Ain Aouda)

Planned Population Density:
250,000 inhabitants
52,000 housing units (approx.)

Spatial Distribution:
840 hectares in area divided into:
460 hectares for housing
30 hectares recreational activities
87 hectares public facilities
147 hectares roads and accessibility
116 hectares green spaces in addition to the neighboring Makhinza Forest

Housing Distribution:
52,000 housing units divided into: (about 80% of housing production is reserved for PPP)
16,000 affordable housing units
6,000 social/economic housing units
20,000 other/market rate housing

Additionally, the city is to provide:
5 activity zones
3 activity poles including a business center
An artisanal crafts area
a large central area reserved for leisure and walking
an upgrade of the center of Sidi Yahia des Zaërs

Appendix 3: Proposed Research Methods

	Method	Objective	Data Source	Strengths	Limitations
Archival Research	Document analysis Involves researcher gathering and reviewing public documents.	To understand and analyze the project background and implementation plans and strategies.	Master Plan Documents Comprehensive Plan Documents Policy Documents Annual Reports Strategic/Recovery Plans Newspaper Articles	Stable source of data Accessible and reliable sources of data Efficient and effective way to gather background data Helps contextualize the findings	May contain limited, incomplete, inaccurate or inconsistent information May need to be checked for biases and credibility Some documents may be hard to access
Participant Observation (both structured and unstructured) *Structured observations are planned (i.e., attending public meetings, block parties, festivals)* *Unstructured observations include everyday life activities at the new town (i.e., going to the mosque for prayer, going to the park, grocery shopping etc.).*	Windshield surveys Involves researcher visually examining a large area from a distance (i.e., from a car or bus etc.). (Gaber & Gaber, 2007).	To explore, document and analyze the current stage of the Moroccan New Town Initiative and how different spaces are currently being used.	Site visits to other new towns under construction real estate ads. signs of occupancy and vacancy street and public space utilization	Allows the researcher to get a quick overview of the existing situation (lay of the land) non-interruptive method of gathering information	Findings are not based on exact facts rather on estimations established during site visits (for ex. number of vacant plots) Interpretation may be influenced by researcher subjectivity
	Site Reconnaissance Investigation Involves researcher making observations about everyday life from a distance (i.e., walking in the site and recording first hand impressions. (Gaber & Gaber, 2007).	To explore, document and analyze the existing civic, social and cultural infrastructure in the new towns.	Physical evidence collected during site visits: local signage flyers event posters advertisements photographs of graffiti/street art	Allows the researcher to participate in local events and immerse in the field	Interpretation may be influenced by researcher subjectivity
	Cultural Mapping Involves researcher mapping intangible cultural assets (such as religious values, social cohesion and identity) by walking around a site with the locals allowing them to tell their "stories of place" (Jeannotte, 2016).	To document and analyze what cultural assets exist in the new town. And to understand how residents utilize different spaces and cultural assets (mobility).	New town residents/interviewees: Stories of place from the point of view of the new town residents	Allows researcher to experience the space from point of view of the locals/users Provides rich cultural and social data practical benefit is that it can help in identifying a community's strengths, resources and their common aspirations and values such that to inform planners and policy makers about the community's needs and desires.	Requires interviewee to be comfortable with researcher tagging along Researcher presence may interfere with daily life activities

	Method	Objective	Data Source	Strengths	Limitations
Interviews (30-50/case)	Open-ended semi-structured interviews Involves researcher conducting face-to-face interviewees using an interview guide with thematically grouped key questions and probing when necessary.	To document, understand and analyze the perceptions, lived experiences and desires of new town dwellers and officials involved in the Moroccan New Town Initiative.	new town residents planners architects government officials policy makers community leaders private developers members of financial/lending organizations	Provides the opportunity to generate rich data Provides insights into people's perceptions and values Data generated can be analyzed in different ways Use of a pre-determined thematic interview protocol provides uniformity	Can be time consuming to collect and analyze data Requires interviewee to consciously remain neutral and avoid suggesting answers
Visual Materials (note: a consent form will be used to obtain permission for any images that include identifiable people (following IRB requirements).	Audiovisual materials Involves researcher documenting the site using photographs and videos. (Gaber & Gaber, 2007).	To document existing situations and to visually illustrate certain theoretically established phenomenon observed by the researcher in the field.	Site photographs Time-lapse videos of public spaces	Helpful in documenting a social setting or existing situation (i.e., community meetings and public events) Allows researcher to record, analyze and interpret behavior in its situational context Provides rich illustrations of common everyday activities can be used to geographically map (using GIS software) significant events, places or people can be used to illustrate a certain theoretically established phenomenon observed by the researcher in the field.	May cause discomfort to users of a public space Requires obtaining consent from those whose pictures may be used in publications (especially minors).

Appendix 4:   Data Collection Protocols

A. Consent Forms (English) (each will be printed on a separate page)

Introductory Consent Protocol

Hello my name is Fatmah Behbehani. I am a PhD student at the University of Virginia in the United States of America. I am obtaining a degree in the Constructed Environment with a focus on Urban Planning. For my dissertation research I am interested in the new towns recently built in Morocco, specifically Tamesna and Tamansourt. I would like to learn about your experience living (or) working (or) planning and developing in new town [X]. Would you be willing to share some of your personal experience in living/working/planning here?

Verbal consent obtained: _____

I want to let you know that I will not be using any personal identifying information in writing my dissertation. I will only use your professional background (i.e., grocer, carpenter, teacher, architect, planner, developer) and other non-identifying data such as how many years you have lived here, why you moved here etc. This interview should not last more than one-hour, feel free to say as much or as little as you'd like to share. If at any point during the interview you'd like me to stop/terminate the interview, please feel free to say so. You have the right to do so at any time and I will not be offended in any way.

Audio Recording Consent

I would like to ask if you are comfortable with me audio recording our interview, this allows me to go back and transcribe our interview later rather than being distracted with notetaking as we speak. Neither your name nor any other identifying information will be associated with the audio recording or the transcript. Only the research team (myself and an interpreter) will be able to listen to the recordings. The tapes will be transcribed by myself and my research assistant and erased once the transcriptions are checked for accuracy. I will use transcripts of your interview in parts or as a whole to present my findings from this research. Neither your name nor any other identifying information (such as your voice or picture) will be used in presentations or in written products resulting from the study.

Participant's Signature: _____   Date: _____
Verbal consent to audio record interview obtained: _____

If participant does not wish to be audio recorded:
'No problem at all. Throughout the interview I'll be taking some notes if that is ok with you.'

Photograph Consent Form

I may want to use some of the photographs I took of you in public presentations related to the research. If you will allow me to do so, please sign the consent below. This is completely up to you.

I _____ grant permission to   Fatmah Behbehani   for the use of the photograph(s) or electronic media images as identified below in any research presentation or publication. I understand that I may revoke this authorization at any time by notifying Fatmah Behbehani in writing. Images will be stored in a secure location and only the primary researcher (myself) will have access to them. They will be kept as long as they are relevant and after that time destroyed or archived.
Date: _____

Appendix 4:   Data Collection Protocols (Continued)

B. Open-Ended Semi-Structured Interviews Protocols

Qualitative interviewing strategies generally ask open-ended questions to which interviewees have the freedom to respond to in their own words (Patton, 1980/2002). In conducting semi-structured interviews, the interviewer prepares topics/themes and questions and carefully designs their sequencing ahead of time. There are several basic information questions that must be addressed in each interview such as demographic information but the rest of the outlined topics can be used in a way that is tailored to the interviewee responses. The interviewer also prepares a set of probes (detail-oriented and elaboration probes) and follow-up questions in order to go further in-depth into interviewee responses (Patton, 1980/2002). Semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to gather deeper information that may open avenues for further investigation. This characteristic is not available in more structured interviews that rely on survey instruments.

Interview Format for New Town Residents

Objective of Interview: To understand what are the lived experiences, aspirations, and perceptions of new town residents? Why do people choose to live in a new town? And how they have adapted to a newly constructed environment.

New Town: _____
Interview #: _____
Location of Interview: _____ Time of Day/Week: _____
Individuals present: _____ Other significant environmental factors: _____

Background: Can you tell me a little about yourself?
-   Where did you grow up?
-   What do you do for a living?
    -   Probe(s): Have you always done X?
-   How about your family: who lives with you at home?
    -   Probe(s): What do they do for a living?

Moving to the New Town: Can you tell me a little about your time in [new town name]?
-   How long have you been living in [new town name]?
-   When did you move to [new town name]?
-   How did you decide to move to [new town name]?
    -   Probe(s): Was is an easy decision? /Was it a difficult decision?
    -   Probe(s): What factors affected your decision?
-   How did you find housing here in [new town name]?
-   How was your move to [new town name]?
    -   Probe(s): Can you tell me about your first few days, weeks or months in [new town name]?
    -   Probe(s): Was your move smooth?
    -   Probe(s): Was there anything particularly difficult?
    -   Probe(s): Did you know anyone here?

- Probe(s): Earlier you mentioned that you grew up in [neighborhood/city name] how is it different than [new town name]?
- How is your house here different from where you lived before?*
    - Probe(s): What spaces did you change/modify/alter?*

Life in the New Town:
- How much of your time is spent here in [new town name]?
- Can you take me through a typical day for you here in [new town name]?
    - Probe(s): Where do you work?
    - Probe(s): Where do you shop for groceries?
    - Probe(s): Where do your kids go to school?
- What would you say has been the most difficult experience for you here in [new town name]?
- Do you enjoy living in [new town name]?
    - Probe(s): What has been the most enjoyable experience for you in [new town name]
    - Probe(s): Where do you enjoy spending your time? *
    - Probe(s): Are there any spaces you avoid? *
- Would you advise your friends or family to move to Tamesna? *
- Are you involved in any groups or organizations in [new town name]?
    - Probe(s): How did you become involved with [group X]?

Opinions on the New Town: I want to hear more about your thoughts on the New Town Initiative in general and about [new town name] is particular.
- What is your opinion of the 2004 national New Town Initiative in general?
- What is your opinion of [new town name]?
- If you could change or improve something in [new town name] what would it be?
    - Probe(s): Is there anything you find missing here?
- Would you encourage your friends and family to move to [new town name]?

Wrapping up:
- Do you have anything more you would like to share about your experience living in [new town name]?
- Do you have any friends or relatives who I might be able to speak with about their experience in moving to [new town name]?
- Are you willing to give me a guided tour of what you do here in [new town name] on a daily basis?
    - Follow-up: If yes, let us set up a day/time for our next meeting

---

* Indicates questions added to the protocol while conducting interviews in the field.

Appendix 4:   Data Collection Protocols (Continued)

Interview Format for Planners/Professional Elites Involved

Objective of Interview: To document and understand the planning process involved in the creation of new towns. To understand the initial vision and objectives of elites (state officials, planners and lenders etc.). To document any obstacles faced in implementing the new towns program and how they have been resolved.

Private/public/civic/financial sector: _____

Professional background (planner, architect, developer, community activist, lender etc.): _____

Location in which they are working: _____

Length of employment in position/involvement: _____

New Towns Program Background
-   What are your thoughts on the New Town Initiative?
-   What do you think about the progress of the new towns to date?
-   I understand that the New Towns Initiative and the Ville Sans Bidonvilles Programme (Cities without Slums Initiative) have recently somewhat began to work together to fill in the housing need. How do you perceive the programs? Are they still two distinct programs?

Planner/Government Official
-   Could you briefly describe the public sector's role in the New Town Initiative?
-   What have been some of the successes?
-   What have been some of the challenges, difficulties or drawbacks?
-   How are private developers involved in the New Town Initiative?
-   What incentives do they have?
-   Are there any specific regulations or criteria for involvement? If yes, what are they?
-   Are there any trade associations that represent the developers in the new towns? If yes, who are they and how do they operate?

Architect/Private Developer
-   Could you briefly describe the private sector's role in the New Town Initiative as you understand it?
-   How is your firm/company involved?
-   What motivated you (or your company) to become involved?
-   What have been some of the successes?
-   What have been some of the challenges, difficulties or drawbacks?
-   Are there any trade associations that represent the developers in the new towns? If yes, who are they and how do they operate?

Civic/Community Leader
Background: Can you tell me a little about yourself?
-   Where did you grow up?

- What do you do for a living?
    - Probe(s): Have you always done X?
- How about your family: who lives with you at home?
    - Probe(s): What do they do for a living?
- What is your connection to [new town x]?
    - Probe(s): Are you a resident? Property owner?
    - Probe(s): What do you think of [new town x]?

Involvement:

- Can you briefly describe the organization/group you work with?
    - Probe(s): When was it established? By whom? Why?
    - Probe(s): Who are the beneficiaries of your organization?
    - Probe(s): What are goals of your organization?
- Can you describe your role in organization [x]?
    - Probe(s): What made you decide to join organization [x]?
    - Probe(s): How has your experience been so far?
- Can you describe some of the successes of organization [x]?
    - Probe(s): Have your organization's goals and missions been met?
    - Probe(s): Have you had any effects on policy?
    - Probe(s): What are people's responses to these successes?
    - Can you describe some of the difficulties your organization has faced (if any)?
        - Probe(s): How has your organization/group dealt with these challenges or difficulties?

Civic Engagement:

- What does civic engagement mean to you?

Member of Financial/Lending Organizations

- Could you briefly describe your organization's role in the New Town Initiative as you understand it?
- How is your organization involved?
- What motivated your organization to become involved?
- What have been some of the successes?
- What have been some of the challenges, difficulties or drawbacks?

C. Cultural Mapping: A day in the New Town Guided Tour

New town: _____   Participant(s): _____

Time of Day/Week: _____   Other significant environmental factors: _____

Length of Observation: _____

Sites/places visited: _____
Observers Comments (OC):

Activity(s)/rituals observed: _____
Observers Comments (OC):

Obstacles/barriers faced (ex. Cultural/gender dynamics): _____
Observers Comments (OC):

People met along the way: _____
Observers Comments (OC):

D. Field Notes and Observations Template

Date: _____   Site: _____   Environmental Factors: _____

Activity: _____   Participants: _____Length of Observation: _____

Observations:	Observers Comments (OC):

E. Windshield Surveys/Site Reconnaissance (Walking) Surveys Protocol

For site reconnaissance (walking) surveys I will be "walking a transect" to pragmatically gather information. A transect walk is a tool used for documenting and describing the land uses, resources, features and landscape of a community. It is a "systemic walk" across a community to explore its features and assets. The transect walk results in a transect diagram that presents spatially mapped information.

Questions to be addressed by visiting other new towns and housing developments in Morocco:
- What is the nature of new town/housing development project X?
- What public and cultural services exist?
- How occupied is it thus far?
- How maintained is it?
- How are public spaces utilized?

In order to address the aforementioned questions, the following data collection protocol was created following the Community Tool Box service provided by Center for Community Health and Development at Kansas State University (http://ctb.ku.edu/en).

Guidelines for a Walking Survey (ctb.ku.edu)
Study a map beforehand, or do a drive-through so you'll know where you're going
Try to work in teams. Teams should probably not be larger than two or three, unless you're splitting up. Two or three people walking together is a normal group, but five or six is a crowd, and stands out.
If you want to experience the community, take part in everyday activities. Take public transportation, eat in a local restaurant, buy something in a drugstore or supermarket or discount store. This will give you a chance to listen to people's conversations and to get a sense of how they interact.
Go inside public buildings and cultural institutions
Sit down in a quiet place to take notes

Windshield and Walking Survey Field Notes:

http://ctb.ku.edu/en/table-of-contents/assessment/assessing-community-needs-and-resources/windshield-walking-surveys/main

New town/Housing development: _____   Participant(s): _____

Time of Day/Week: _____   Other significant environmental factors: _____

Length of Observation: _____

Housing	What is the age and condition of housing in the neighborhoods you're surveying? Are houses and apartment buildings kept up, or are they run-down and in need of repair? Are yards neat or overgrown? Observers Comments:
Other Buildings	Are the buildings mostly or fully occupied? Do public and commercial buildings seem accessible to people with disabilities – ramped, street level entries, etc.? Observers Comments:
Public Spaces	Are there public spaces where people can gather? Are they well kept up? Do they have seating areas, trees and plants, attractive design, cafes or food vendors, or other features meant to encourage people to use the space? Who uses these spaces? Is there diversity? Observers Comments:

Parks	Are parks used by a variety of people?? Are they well kept up? Are there sports facilities – basketball courts, soccer pitches, baseball fields, cricket pitches, etc.? Are they used at night? Observers Comments:
Culture and entertainment	Are there museums, libraries, theaters, restaurants, clubs, sports stadiums, historic sites, etc.? Are they accessible to all parts of the community (centrally located, reachable by public transportation)? Do they reflect the cultures of community members? Observers Comments:
Streetscape	The streetscape is the environment created by streets and the sidewalks, buildings, trees, etc. that line them. Are there trees and/or plants? Are there sidewalks? Are building facades and storefronts attractive and welcoming? Are the streets and sidewalks relatively clean? Are there trash cans? Is there outdoor seating? Observers Comments:
Street use	Are there people on the streets at most times of day? In the evening? How late? Do they interact with one another? Are streets and sidewalks well-lit at night? Observers Comments:
Commercial activity	What kinds of businesses are there? Are there boarded-up or vacant storefronts? Is there a mix of large and small businesses? Are there grocery stores and supermarkets, pharmacies, and other stores that provide necessities in all parts of the community? Observers Comments:
Signs	What languages are business signs in? Are traffic signs informative? Are there signs directing people to various parts of the community (downtown, museums, highways, etc.)? Observers Comments:
Industry	What kinds of industry exist in the community? Does it seem to be causing pollution? Observers Comments:
Land use	How much open space is there? How are residential, commercial, and industrial areas distributed? Do major roads or railroad tracks divide neighborhoods, or are they on the edges of the community? Observers Comments:
Infrastructure	What is the condition of roads, bridges, sidewalks, etc.? Are there differences in these conditions from one area of the community to another? Do all parts of the community seem to be equally served by electricity, water, phone, fiber optic, wastewater treatment, waste disposal, and other infrastructure services? Observers Comments:
Public transportation	Is there a functioning public transportation system? Is it well used? By whom? Does it allow relatively easy access to all parts of the community? How easy is it to navigate and use? How much does it cost? Are its vehicles energy-efficient? Observers Comments:
Traffic	How heavy is traffic in the community? Is it mostly commercial and industrial – vans, trucks, etc. – or mostly private cars? Is there ever gridlock? Is there much bicycle traffic? Are there bike lanes? Are there bike racks in many places? Observers Comments:
Environmental Quality	How much usable green space is there, and is it scattered throughout the community? Is there smog or haze? Does the air smell of smoke, garbage, car exhaust, chemicals, industrial waste, etc.? Does the water in streams, ponds, lakes, etc. seem reasonably clear? Observers Comments:
Race/Ethnicity	Who lives in the community? Are there identifiable racial and ethnic groups? Do particular groups seem to live in particular areas?

	Observers Comments:
Faith communities	What kinds of religious institutions are there? Do the institutions of one particular religion or sect dominate? Are there separate houses of worship for people of different ethnicities or races, even if they share the same faith? Observers Comments:
Health services	How many hospitals and clinics are there in the community? Where are they located? How big are they? How easy are they to get to? Observers Comments:
Community and public services	Are there identifiable community service providers and organizations in the community – mental health centers, food banks, homeless shelters, welfare offices, etc.? Are they concentrated in a particular area? Are they easy to reach by public transportation? Observers Comments:
Community safety	Where are police and fire stations located? Are they in good repair? Is the community well-lit at night? Observers Comments:
Public schools	Are schools in different neighborhoods in noticeably different states of repair? Are schools well maintained? Or in some developing countries, are there schools in the community at all? Observers Comments:
Higher education	Are there two- and four-year colleges and/or universities in the community? Where are they located? Do they seem open to the community, or do they seem self-contained and isolated? Observers Comments:
Political Activity	Are there signs or other indications of political activity? Is it clear that political activity is allowed and/or encouraged? Are there protests or demonstrations? Observers Comments:
Community organizations	What evidence is there of organizations in the community? Are there service clubs – Lions, Elks, Masons, etc.? Are there other organizations – centered around community issues, the environment, sports or leisure pursuits, socialization, etc.? Observers Comments:
Media	Are there local media outlets – radio and TV stations, newspapers, Internet sites devoted to local issues? Are they independent, or are they sponsored or run by government or corporations? Where are their facilities? Observers Comments:
Differences among neighborhoods or areas of the community	What are the differences among different parts of the community? Are schools, stores, public and other buildings, streets, etc. in different areas in different condition? Do some areas seem neglected, while others are clearly maintained? Observers Comments:
The "feel" of the community	What is your overall impression of the community? Observers Comments:

Appendix 5: Lists of Persons Interviewed

A. Interviews with Planners, Elite Professionals and Civic Activists

Total number of interviews = 41 individual interviews, 2 meetings attended

Summer 2016, n = 6

	Person Interviewed	Date of Interview	Interview Location/ Reference	Organization/Position
1	Mr. Abdulrahman Chorfi	06/02/2016	Rabat, 06/02-1, 2016	Retired senior official at the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism and adjunct lecturer at the International University of Rabat's Architecture Department
2	Ms. Imane Bennani	06/02/2016	Sale El Jadida, 06/02-2, 2016	Director of the School of Architecture at the International University of Rabat (UIR)
3	Ms. Ibtisame Jibrane	06/07/2016	Tamesna, 06/07-1, 2016	Architect and Project Manager at Al Omrane Tamesna
4	Mr. Brahime Hassad	06/07/2016	AinAtiq, 06/07-2, 2016	Director of Addoha Foundation
5	Ms. Zinab Bendimiya	06/07/2016	AinAtiq, 06/07-3, 2016	Director of Training at Addoha Foundation
6	Mr. Abdellatif Berrahma Tlemcani	06/07/2016	Rabat, 06/07-4, 2016	Director of the VNP at Al Omrane Rabat

Summer 2017, n = 16 (14 interviews + 2 meetings attended)

	Person Interviewed	Date of Interview	Interview Location/ Reference	Organization/Position
1	Ms. Ibtisame Jibrane	07/10/2017	Tamesna, 07/10-1, 2017	Architect and Project Manager at Al Omrane Tamesna
2	Ms. Zinab Bendimiya	07/11/2017	AinAtiq, 07/11-1, 2017	Director of Training at Addoha Foundation
3	Ms. Khaddouj Guenou	07/12/2017	Rabat, 07/12-1, 2017	Director of the Urban Agency of Rabat-Sale
4	Mr. Miloud Hachimi	07/12/2017	Rabat, 07/12-2, 2017	Founder of Tamesna Association for Development and Solidarity (ATDS) and Tamesna Festival Association
5	Errab Hafeda	07/12/2017	Rabat, 07/12-2, 2017	Director of the Urban Agency of Skhirate-Témara
6	Mr. Mostafa Palambo	07/13/2017	Témara, 07/13-2&3, 2017	Project manager at the Urban Agency of Skhirate-Témara
7	Ms. Yousra El Amrani	07/13/2017	Témara, 07/13-2&3, 2017	Architect at the Urban Agency of Skhirate-Témara
8	Meeting attended: Site plan review meeting at	07/13/2017	Urban Agency of Témara Site Development Meeting, 07/13-4, 2017	Attended by director of the Urban Agency of Skhirate-Témara (Ms. Guenou), the agency's architects and engineers in staff and Ms.

	the Urban Agency Skhirate-Témara			Ibtisame Jibrane presenting the site plan for Tamesna's public park on behalf of Al Omrane Tamesna
9	Ms. Imane Bennani	07/13/2017	Rabat, 07/13-5, 2017	Director of the School of Architecture at the International University of Rabat (UIR)
10	Meeting attended: Al Omrane Tamesna provides updates on housing situation to civic associations	07/14/2017	Al Omrane Tamesna Meeting with Civic Associations, 07/14-1, 2017	Attended by director of Al Omrane Tamesna (Mr. Abdelhakim Zidouh), Mr. Miloud Hachimi (ATDS), secretary of ATDS, Mr. Mohamed Mounji (lawyer for Association Maraj Al Bahrain), Mr. Abdelaziz Lamine (PPP Coordinator at Al Omrane Tamesna)
11	Mr. Hassan Maknoun	07/17/2017	Rabat, 07/17-1, 2017	Former technical director at Al Omrane Tamesna and current senior architect at Al Omrane Rabat
12	Mr. Abdelaziz Lamine	07/17/2017	Tamesna, 07/17-2, 2017	Director of Private-Public Partnerships at Al Omrane Tamesna
13	Mr. Mohamed Mounji	07/17/2017	Rabat, 07/17-3, 2017	Lawyer and civil activist. President of Association Maraj Al Bahrain and Vice President of Tamesna Association for Development and Solidarity (ATDS)
14	Mr. Rachid Essadani	07/18/2017	Rabat/HayAlRiad, 07/18-1, 2017	Architect, urban designer and owner of Atelier AssAr architecture firm in Rabat, involved in design of New Town Chrafate
15	Ms. Mariam Bin Hussain	07/18/2017	Rabat/HayAlRiad, 07/18-2, 2017	Director of new town Jnane Saïss at the Deposit and Management Fund, a state-owned financial institution that manages long-term savings in Morocco (French acronym CDG- Caisse de Dépôt et de Gestion)
16	Ms. Nadia Sbai	07/19/2017	Casablanca, 07/19-1, 2017	Director of Private-Public Partnerships and Economic Development at Al Omrane Lkhayta

Fall 2018, n = 10

	Person Interviewed	Date of Interview	Interview Location/ Reference	Organization/Position
1	Mr. Tariq Al Aidi	10/01/2018	Tamesna, 10/01-22, 2018	Marketing Director at Al Omrane Tamesna
2	Ms. Najat	10/08/2018	Tamesna, 10/08-34, 2018	Al Mustaqbal Women's Association Owner
	Mr. Hicham (Positivity Group)	11/14/2018	Tamesna, 11/14, 2018	Civic activist and founder of Facebook page: "Tamesna - Positive Attitudes"
3	Mr. Jacques Gally	11/15/2018	Tamesna, 11/15-85, 2018	French specialist and international consultant on new towns, major projects, urban strategies and public private negotiations
4	Mr. Hicham (Soccer)	11/15/2018	Tamesna, 11/15-89, 2018	President and coach of a local football association in Tamesna

5	Ms. Loubna Rami	11/18/2018	Tamesna, 11/18-91, 2018	President of a women's association in Tamesna
6	Mr. Mostafa Palambo	11/27/2018	Tamesna, 11/27-124, 2018	Project manager at the Urban Agency of Skhirate-Témara
7	Interview with employee	11/27/2018	Tamesna, 11/27-125, 2018	Employee at Stareo Bus Company in Rabat
8	Mr. Hicham Lahlou	11/28/2018	Tamesna, 11/28-126, 2018	Former financial manager in Al Omrane Rabat and current director of management control and Tamesna's recovery plan at Al Omrane Tamesna
9	Interview with employee	11/28/2018	Tamesna, 11/28-127, 2018	Director of real estate sales for a private developer company
10	Interview with gendarmerie officer	12/06/2018	Tamesna, 12/06-142, 2018	Moroccan Royal Gendarmerie in Tamesna

Spring 2019, n = 11

	Person Interviewed	Date of Interview	Interview Location/ Reference	Organization/Position
1	Mr. Wael	1/23/2019	Tamansourt, 1/23-150, 2019	Architect/Engineer and director of research and programming in Al Omrane Tamansourt
2	Interview with local public official	2/28/2019	Tamansourt, 2/28-223, 2019	Douar El Harmel *Muqadam.* The local public official representing the *douar*.
3	Interview with director of a local women's association	3/14/2019	Tamansourt, 3/14-259, 2019	Director of a women's association in Tamansourt
4	Mr. Yassir Rafi	3/20/2019	Marrakech, 3/20-268, 2019	Private architect in Marrakech and owner of RY *Agence d'Architecture* (architecture firm)
5	Interview with employee	3/21/2019	Marrakech, 3/21-269, 2019	Office manager at the Society of Engineers in Marrakech
6	Interview with employee	3/22/2019	Marrakech, 3/22-270, 2019	Director of urbanism at the Urban Agency of Marrakech
7	Mr. Farhi	3/22/2019	Marrakech, 3/22-271, 2019	Director of research at the Urban Agency of Marrakech
8	Interview with employee	3/25/2019	Marrakech, 3/25-272, 2019	Director of land finance at Al Omrane Marrakech
9	Interview with employee	3/25/2019	Marrakech, 3/25-273, 2019	Director of urban affairs at the Province (Wilaya) of Marrakech
10	Mr. Jamal Erraoui	3/26/2019	Tamansourt, 3/26-274, 2019	Vice president of Harbeel Commune
11	Mr. Nabeel	3/28/2019	Tamansourt, 3/28-283, 2019	Architect and manager at Al Omrane Tamansourt

B. Tamesna Interviews and Discussions with Residents, Non-Resident Informants, Planners and Elite Professionals

Conducted between September 2018 and December 2018
Total interviews = 143
Citizen informants n = 130, focus groups n = 3, elite professionals and civic leaders n = 10
Tamesna Residents n = 110, Non-Residents n = 23, Elite professionals n=10
Tamesna Resident informant interviews by gender   F = 77 , M = 33

	Person Interviewed	Date of Interview	Interview Location/Reference	Job	Hometown	Housing Development	Years Living in New Town	Renter/Owner	Sex
1	Resident	9/24/2018	Tamesna, 09/24-1, 2018	Security Guard	Sidi Slimane	Jnane Al Mansour	5	Renter	M
2	Resident	9/24/2018	Tamesna, 09/24-2, 2018	Hammam Employee	Rabat	Al Amal 1	8	Owner/Loan	F
3	Resident	9/24/2018	Tamesna, 09/24-3, 2018	Hammam Employee	Temara	Al Amal 1	8	Owner/Loan	F
4	Local Douar Resident	9/24/2018	Tamesna, 09/24-4, 2018	Shopkeeper	Tamesna	Douar Sodea	NA	NA	M
5	Non-Resident	9/24/2018	Tamesna, 09/24-5, 2018	Street Vendor	Zaer Had ElGhwalim	-	NA	NA	M
6	Non-Resident	9/24/2018	Tamesna, 09/24-6, 2018	Street Vendor	-	-	NA	NA	M
7	Resident	9/25/2018	Tamesna, 09/25-7, 2018	Business Owner/Shopkeeper	Essaouira	-	-	-	M
8	Non-Resident	9/25/2018	Tamesna, 09/25-8, 2018	Shopkeeper	Temara	-	-	NA	M
9	Resident	9/25/2018	Tamesna, 09/25-9, 2018	Street Vendor	Rural area by Taounate	Al Najah Addoha	2	Owner/Loan	F
10	Resident	9/25/2018	Tamesna, 09/25-10, 2018	Street Vendor	-	Al Najah Addoha	3	Owner/Loan	F
11	Resident	9/27/2018	Tamesna, 09/27-11, 2018	Housewife	Rabat	Diar El Mansour	2	Renter	F
12	Resident	9/27/2018	Tamesna, 09/27-12, 2018	Housewife	Rabat	Diar El Mansour	2	Owner/Loan	F
13	Resident	9/27/2018	Tamesna, 09/27-13, 2018	Housewife	-	Diar El Mansour	5	Owner/Loan	F
14	Non-Resident	9/27/2018	Tamesna, 09/27-14, 2018	Business Owner/Shopkeeper	Douar in Sidi Yahia Zaer	NA	NA	NA	M
15	Resident	9/27/2018	Tamesna, 09/27-15, 2018	Former domestic helper/recently fired	-	Diar El Mansour	1	Owner/Loan	F
16	Resident	9/27/2018	Tamesna, 09/27-16, 2018	Housewife	-	Diar El Mansour	6 months	Owner/Loan	F
17	Resident	9/28/2018	Tamesna, 09/28-17, 2018	Teacher	-	Marina d'Or	5	-	F

18	Resident	9/28/2018	Tamesna, 09/28-18, 2018	Shopkeeper	Goulmima	Al Najah Addoha	12	Owner/Loan	M
19	Resident	9/28/2018	Tamesna, 09/28-19, 2018	Housewife	Marrakech	Al Najah Addoha	2 months	Owned by Family Member	F
20	Resident	9/28/2018	Tamesna, 09/28-20, 2018	Housewife	Temara	Al Najah Addoha	5/6	Owner/Loan	F
21	Resident	9/28/2018	Tamesna, 09/28-21, 2018	-	Rabat (Hay AlNahtha)	Al Najah Addoha	-	Charity funds	F
22	Elite Professional	10/01/2018	Tamesna, 10/01-22, 2018	Marketing Director at Al Omrane Tamesna	NA	NA	NA	NA	M
23	Resident	10/01/2018	Tamesna, 10/01-23, 2018	Housewife	Temara	Al Hidaya	-	Owner/Loan	F
24	Resident	10/01/2018	Tamesna, 10/01-24, 2018	HOA Vice President	Sale	Al Hidaya	6	Owner	F
25	Resident	10/01/2018	Tamesna, 10/01-25, 2018	Housewife	-	Al Hidaya	8	-	F
26	Resident	10/01/2018	Tamesna, 10/01-26, 2018	Housewife	-	Al Hidaya	9	-	F
27	Resident	10/03/2018	Tamesna, 10/03-27, 2018	Shopkeeper	Tafraoute	Dior El Sofer	5	Owner/Loan	M
28	Resident	10/03/2018	Tamesna, 10/03-28, 2018	Housewife	Casablanca	Dior El Sofer	6/7	Owner/Loan	F
29	Resident	10/03/2018	Tamesna, 10/03-29, 2018	Housewife	Marrakech	Dior El Sofer	8	Owner/Loan	F
30	Resident	10/03/2018	Tamesna, 10/03-30, 2018	Housewife	Rabat	Dior El Sofer	8	Owner/Loan	F
x	Interview denied	10/03/2018	-	-	-	-	-	-	F
31	Resident	10/03/2018	Tamesna, 10/03-31, 2018	Retired/Elderly Man	-	Dior El Sofer	-	-	M
32	Resident	10/03/2018	Tamesna, 10/03-32, 2018	Security Guard	Douar nearby	Al Najah Addoha	5	Owner/Loan	M
33	Resident	10/03/2018	Tamesna, 10/03-33, 2018	Security Guard	-	Annour 1	NA	NA	M
34	Resident/Civic Leader	10/08/2018	Tamesna, 10/08-34, 2018	Women's Association Owner	NA	Al Najah Addoha	NA	Owner	F
35	Resident	10/08/2018	Tamesna, 10/08-35, 2018	Civic Association Employee	-	Al Najah Addoha	-	Owner/Loan	F
36	Resident	10/09/2018	Tamesna, 10/09-36, 2018	College Student	Rabat	Dior El Sofer	10	Owner/Loan	F
37	Non-Resident	10/09/2018	Tamesna, 10/09-37, 2018	College Student	Sidi Yahia Zaer	Sidi Yahia Zaer	NA	NA	M
38	Non-Resident	10/09/2018	Tamesna, 10/09-38, 2018	Security Guard	Sidi Yahia Zaer	Sidi Yahia Zaer	NA	NA	M
39	Resident	10/09/2018	Tamesna, 10/09-39, 2018	College Student	Sidi Yahia Zaer	Sidi Yahia Zaer	NA	NA	F

40	Resident	10/09/2018	Tamesna, 10/09-40, 2018	College Student	Rabat	Annour 2	4	-	F
41	Non-Resident	10/09/2018	Tamesna, 10/09-41, 2018	College Student	Sidi Yahia Zaer	Sidi Yahia Zaer	NA	NA	M
42	Resident	10/09/2018	Tamesna, 10/09-42, 2018	College Student	Sidi Yahia Zaer	Annour 1	NA	NA	M
43	Resident	10/09/2018	Tamesna, 10/09-43, 2018	College Student	Rabat	Dior El Sofer	8	Owner/Cash	F
44	Resident	10/09/2018	Tamesna, 10/09-44, 2018	College Student	Sidi Yahia Zaer	-	4	-	F
45	Resident	10/11/2018	Tamesna, 10/11-45, 2018	Housewife	Douar El Akari Rabat	Al Amal 1	-	-	F
46	Resident	10/11/2018	Tamesna, 10/11-46, 2018	Housewife	Douar near Rabat	Al Amal 1	-	Owner/Loan	F
47	Resident	10/11/2018	Tamesna, 10/11-47, 2018	Housewife	Douar near Rabat	Al Amal 1	12	Owner/Loan	F
48	Resident	10/11/2018	Tamesna, 10/11-48, 2018	Housewife	Douar near Rabat	Al Amal 1	-	-	F
49	Resident	10/11/2018	Tamesna, 10/11-49, 2018	Housewife	Douar El Akari Rabat	Al Amal 1	8	Owner/Loan	F
50	Resident	10/11/2018	Tamesna, 10/11-50, 2018	Business Owner	Rabat	Al Amal 1	5	Owned by Family Member	F
		10/12/2018		Attended Al Omrane Expo in Casablanca					
51	Resident	10/20/2018	Tamesna, 10/20-51, 2018	-	-	Jnane Al Mansour	-	-	M
52	Resident	10/20/2018	Tamesna, 10/20-52, 2018	Security Guard	-	Al Amal 1	8	-	M
53	Resident	10/20/2018	Tamesna, 10/20-53, 2018	Security Guard	Douar El Askar, Sidi Yahia Zaer	Al Amal 1	2	Owner/Cash	M
54	Resident	10/20/2018	Tamesna, 10/20-54, 2018	Housewife	Casablanca	Jnane Al Mansour	1	-	F
55	Resident	10/20/2018	Tamesna, 10/20-55, 2018	Housewife	Sale El Jadida	Jnane Al Mansour	5	-	F
56	Resident	10/21/2018	Tamesna, 10/21-56, 2018	Military	-	Dior El Askar	3	-	M
57	Resident	10/21/2018	Tamesna, 10/2-57, 2018	Military	-	Dior El Askar	-	-	M
58	Resident	10/21/2018	Tamesna, 10/21-58, 2018	Military	Sale	Dior El Askar	3 months	-	M
59	Resident	10/21/2018	Tamesna, 10/21-59, 2018	Housewife	Sale	Dior El Askar	2 months	-	F
60	Resident	10/26/2018	Tamesna, 10/26-60, 2018	Security Guard	Sidi Yahia Zaer	Al Amal 1	8	-	M
61	Resident	10/27/2018	Tamesna, 10/27-61, 2018	Street Vendor/Tailor	Sidi Yahia Zaer	Marina D'Or	5	Owner/Cash	M
62	Non-Resident	10/27/2018	Tamesna, 10/27-62, 2018	Visitor/Guest		Marina D'Or	4	Owner/Cash	M

63	Non-Resident	10/29/2018	Tamesna, 10/29-63, 2018	Housewife	NA	NA	NA	NA	F
64	Resident	10/29/2018	Tamesna, 10/29-64, 2018	Business Owner	Rabat	Diar El Mansour 2	2	Renter	F
65	Resident	10/29/2018	Tamesna, 10/29-65, 2018	Business Owner	Rabat	Diar El Mansour 2	2	Renter	M
66	Non-Resident	10/29/2018	Tamesna, 10/29-66, 2018	Visitor/Guest	Temara	NA	NA	NA	F
67	Resident	10/29/2018	Tamesna, 10/29-67, 2018	Security Guard	Sale	Diar El Mansour 2	1	-	M
68	Resident	10/29/2018	Tamesna, 10/29-68, 2018	-	Rabat	Al Kinz	4/5	Owner	F
69	Resident	10/29/2018	Tamesna, 10/29-69, 2018	Building Janitor	Rabat	Al Kinz	4	Owner	F
70	Resident	10/29/2018	Tamesna, 10/29-70, 2018	-	Rabat	Al Kinz	Almost 3	Owner	F
71	Resident	11/01/2018	Tamesna, 11/01-71, 2018	-	-	Al Assil	2.5	-	M
72	Resident	11/01/2018	Tamesna, 11/01-72, 2018	Retired Teacher	Rabat	Al Assil	3	-	F
73	Resident	11/01/2018	Tamesna, 11/01-73, 2018	Building Janitor	Sidi Yahia Zaer	Al Najah Addoha	10	-	F
74	Resident	11/01/2018	Tamesna, 11/01-74, 2018	Housewife	Rabat (Ataqadum)	Al Assil	3	-	F
75	Resident	11/01/2018	Tamesna, 11/01-75, 2018	Security Guard	Sidi Yahia Zaer	Marina d'Or	5	Owner/Beneficiary	M
11/7/2019 – 11/10/2019 Presented at Conference at University Moulay Ismail, Meknes on 11/9/2019									
76	Resident	11/11/2018	Tamesna, 11/11-76, 2018	Administrator	Sidi Yahia Zaer	Al Amal 1	8	-	F
77	Resident	11/11/2018	Tamesna, 11/11-77, 2018	-	Temara	Al Najah Addoha	8	Owner	F
78	Resident	11/11/2018	Tamesna, 11/11-78, 2018	Housewife	Temara	Annour 2	6	Owner/Loan/Economic Housing	F
79	Resident	11/11/2018	Tamesna, 11/11-79, 2018	-	Rabat, Yaqoub Al Mansour	Al Hiba	2	Owner/Loan	F
11/11/2018 - Attended Tamesna Marathon									
80	Resident	11/14/2018	Tamesna, 11/14-80, 2018	Housewife	Sidi Yahia Zaer	Al Amal 2	3	Owner/Cash	F
81	Resident	11/14/2018	Tamesna, 11/14-81, 2018	Storekeeper	Sidi Yahia Zaer	Al Amal 2	4	Owner/Loan	F
82	Resident	11/14/2018	Tamesna, 11/14-82, 2018	Housewife	Sidi Yahia Zaer, Douar Al Hajr	Al Amal 2	5	Owner/Loan	F
83	Resident	11/14/2018	Tamesna, 11/14-83, 2018	Security Guard	Sidi Yahia Zaer	Al Amal 2	5	-	M
84	Resident	11/14/2018	Tamesna, 11/14-84, 2018	Businessman	Rabat	-	-	-	M

85	Elite Professional	11/15/2018	Tamesna, 11/15-85, 2018	French New Town Expert	NA	NA	NA	NA	M
86	Resident	11/15/2018	Tamesna, 11/15-86, 2018	Street Vendor	Sidi Yahia Zaer	-	6	-	M
87	Resident	11/15/2018	Tamesna, 11/15-87, 2018	Street Vendor	Rabat	Al Najah Addoha	8	Owner/Loan	F
88	Resident	11/15/2018	Tamesna, 11/15-88, 2018	Street Vendor	-	Al Najah Addoha	8	-	F
89	Resident/Civic Leader	11/15/2018	Tamesna, 11/15-89, 2018	Civic Association President	Rabat	-	10	-	M
90	Resident	11/18/2018	Tamesna, 11/18-90, 2018	Civic Association President	Douar near Tamesna	Annour 1	4	-	M
91	Resident/Civic Leader	11/18/2018	Tamesna, 11/18-91, 2018	Civic Association President	Temara	Diar El Mansour 2	3	Owner	F
92	Non-Resident	11/18/2018	Tamesna, 11/18-92, 2018	Civic Association Employee	Douar Hassan/Sidi Yahia Zaer	Sidi Yahia Zaer	NA	NA	F
93	Non-Resident	11/18/2018	Tamesna, 11/18-93, 2018	Civic Association President	Douar Hassan/Sidi Yahia Zaer	Sidi Yahia Zaer	NA	NA	M
94	Non-Resident	11/19/2018	Ain Aouda, 11/19-94, 2018	NA	NA	Ain Aouda	NA	NA	F
95	Non-Resident	11/19/2018	Ain Aouda, 11/19-95, 2018	NA	NA	Ain Aouda	NA	NA	F
96	Non-Resident	11/19/2018	Ain Aouda, 11/19-96, 2018	NA	NA	Ain Aouda	NA	NA	M
97	Non-Resident	11/19/2018	Ain Aouda, 11/19-97, 2018	NA	NA	Ain Aouda	NA	NA	F
98	Non-Resident	11/19/2018	Ain Aouda, 11/19-98, 2018	NA	NA	Ain Aouda	NA	NA	F
99	Non-Resident	11/19/2018	Ain Aouda, 11/19-99, 2018	NA	NA	Ain Aouda	NA	NA	F
100	Non-Resident	11/19/2018	Ain Aouda, 11/19-100, 2018	NA	NA	Ain Aouda	NA	NA	F
101	Non-Resident	11/22/2018	Douar Al Hassan Sidi Yahia Zaer, 11/22-101, 2018	Focus Group	NA	Sidi Yahia Zaer	NA	NA	NA
102	Resident	11/24/2018	Tamesna, 11/24-102, 2018	Treporter Driver	Sidi Yahia Zaer	Annour 1	6	Owner/Loan/Beneficiary	M
103	Resident	11/24/2018	Tamesna, 11/24-103, 2018	College Student	Sidi Yahia Zaer/Douar Annadi	Annour 1	6	Owner/Loan/Beneficiary	F
104	Resident	11/24/2018	Tamesna, 11/24-104, 2018	College Student	Sidi Yahia Zaer	Annour 1	6	Owner/Loan/Beneficiary	F
105	Resident	11/24/2018	Tamesna, 11/24-105, 2018	Housewife	Sidi Yahia Zaer/Douar Annadi	Annour 1	7	Owner/Loan/	F

								Beneficiary	
106	Resident	11/24/2018	Tamesna, 11/24-106, 2018	Housewife	Sidi Yahia Zaer/Douar Ait Arab	Annour 1	7	Owner/Loan/ Beneficiary	F
107	Resident	11/24/2018	Tamesna, 11/24-107, 2018	Business Owner/Storekeeper	Temara	Annour 2	6	Renter	M
108	Resident	11/24/2018	Tamesna, 11/24-108, 2018	Street Vendor/Tailor	Abroad	Diar El Mansour	1	Renter	F
109	Resident	11/24/2018	Tamesna, 11/24-109, 2018	Street Vendor	Rabat/El Qamra	Al Najah Addoha	2	Owner	F
110	Resident	11/25/2018	Tamesna, 11/25-110, 2018	Housewife	Sidi Yahia Zaer	Al Najah Addoha	6	Renter	F
111	Resident	11/25/2018	Tamesna, 11/25-111, 2018	Housewife	Temara/Mesira 2	Al Najah Addoha	8	Owner	F
112	Resident	11/25/2018	Tamesna, 11/25-112, 2018	Housewife	Casablanca	Al Najah Addoha	8	Owner	F
113	Resident	11/25/2018	Tamesna, 11/25-113, 2018	Housewife	Ouarzazate	Al Najah Addoha	-	-	F
114	Resident	11/25/2018	Tamesna, 11/25-114, 2018	Tech Company Employee	Rabat	Al Hidaya	6	Owner	M
115	Resident	11/26/2018	Tamesna, 11/26-115, 2018	Housewife	Rabat/Countryside	Annour 2	1	Owner	F
116	Resident	11/26/2018	Tamesna, 11/26-116, 2018	Housewife	Rabat	Annour 2	-	Owner	F
117	Resident	11/26/2018	Tamesna, 11/26-117, 2018	Housewife	Rabat	Annour 2	-	Owner	F
118	Resident	11/26/2018	Tamesna, 11/26-118, 2018	Housewife	Temara	Annour 2	2	Owner	F
119	Resident	11/26/2018	Tamesna, 11/26-119, 2018	Housewife	Casablanca	Annour 2	3	Owner	F
120	Resident	11/26/2018	Tamesna, 11/26-120, 2018	Street Vendor	Rabat	Annour 2	5	Renter/Rahen	F
121	Resident	11/26/2018	Tamesna, 11/26-121, 2018	Housewife	Al Mers	Annour 2	5	Renter	F
122	Resident	11/26/2018	Tamesna, 11/26-122, 2018	Street Vendor	Tamesna Area	Annour 2	3	Renter	M
123	Resident	11/26/2018	Tamesna, 11/26-123, 2018	Street Vendor	Sale	Annour 2	5	Renter	M
124	Elite Professional	11/27/2018	Tamesna, 11/27-124, 2018	Project manager at the Urban Agency of Skhirate-Témara	NA	NA	NA	NA	M
125	Elite Professional	11/27/2018	Tamesna, 11/27-125, 2018	Employee at Stareo Bus Company in Rabat	NA	NA	NA	NA	M
126	Elite Professional	11/28/2018	Tamesna, 11/28-126, 2018	Management Director at Al Omrane Tamesna	NA	NA	NA	NA	M

127	Elite Professional	11/28/2018	Tamesna, 11/28-127, 2018	Real Estate Sales/Private Developer	NA	NA	NA	NA	M
128	Resident	11/28/2018	Tamesna, 11/28-128, 2018	Housewife	Temara	Al Hiba	5	Owner	F
129	Resident	11/28/2018	Tamesna, 11/28-129, 2018	Housewife	Temara	Al Hiba	-	Owner	F
130	Resident	11/28/2018	Tamesna, 11/28-130, 2018	Housewife	Temara	Al Hiba	7	Renter	F
131	Resident	11/28/2018	Tamesna, 11/28-131, 2018	Housewife	Sidi Yahia Zaer/Douar Al Souk	Al Nasim	4	Owner/ Beneficiary	F
132	Resident	11/28/2018	Tamesna, 11/28-132, 2018	Housewife	Sidi Yahia Zaer/Douar Al Souk	Al Nasim	4	Owner/ Beneficiary	F
133	Resident	11/28/2018	Tamesna, 11/28-133, 2018	Housewife	Sidi Yahia Zaer/Douar Al Souk	Al Nasim	4	Owner/ Beneficiary	F
134	Resident	11/28/2018	Tamesna, 11/28-134, 2018	Housewife	Sidi Yahia Zaer/Douar Al Souk	Al Nasim	3	Owner/ Beneficiary	F
135	Local Douar Residents /Focus Group	11/29/2018	Tamesna, 11/29-135, 2018	NA	Douar Sodea	Douar Sodea	NA	NA	NA
136	Resident	11/29/2018	Tamesna, 11/29-136, 2018	Security Guard	Sale Al Jadida	Al Kinz	5	Owner	M
137	Non-Resident	11/30/2018	Tamesna, 11/29-137, 2018	Housewife	Casablanca/ Al Rahma Area	Al Rahma	20+	Douar	F
138	Non-Resident	11/30/2018	Tamesna, 11/29-138, 2018	Housewife	Sale Al Jadida	Al Rahma	2/3	Owner	F
139	Non-Resident	11/30/2018	Tamesna, 11/29-139, 2018	Street Vendor	Casablanca/ Al Rahma Area	Al Rahma	4	Owner	F
140	Non-Resident	11/30/2018	Tamesna, 11/29-140, 2018	Businessowner/Storekeeper	-	Al Rahma	-	Shared Plot Owner	F
141	Resident	12/01/2018	Tamesna, 12/01-141, 2018	Security Guard	Khouribga	-	5	-	M
142	Elite Professional	12/06/2018	Tamesna, 12/06-142, 2018	Gendarmiere Officer	NA	NA	-	NA	M
143	Residents/Focus Group	12/06/2018	Tamesna, 12/06-143, 2018	Treporter Drivers	Focus Group	-	-	Owner/ Beneficiary	M

C. **Tamansourt Interviews and Discussions with Residents, Non-Resident Informants, Planners and Elite Professionals**

Conducted between January 2019 and April 2019
Total interviews = 142
Citizen informants n = 129, focus groups n = 2, elite professionals and civic leaders n = 11
Tamansourt Residents n = 109, Non-Residents n = 22, Elite professionals n=11
Tamansourt Resident informant interviews by gender   F = 77 , M = 32

	Person Interviewed	Date of Interview	Interview Location/Reference	Job	Hometown	Housing Development	Years Living in New Town	Renter/Owner	Sex
1	Resident	1/23/2019	Tamansourt, 1/23-144, 2019	Housewife	Douar El Harmel	Qsour Ouarzazate	6.5	-	F
2	Resident	1/23/2019	Tamansourt, 1/23-145, 2019	Housewife	Douar El Harmel	Qsour Ouarzazate	almost 2 years	-	F
3	Resident	1/23/2019	Tamansourt, 1/23-146, 2019	Works part-time	Douar El Harmel	Qsour Ouarzazate	almost 2 years	-	M
4	Resident	1/23/2019	Tamansourt, 1/23-147, 2019	Housewife	Douar El Harmel	Qsour Ouarzazate	4.5	Owner/Beneficary	F
5	Resident	1/23/2019	Tamansourt, 1/23-148, 2019	Housewife	Douar Ait Ali	Qsour Ouarzazate	2	Owner/Purchased from compensation	F
6	Resident	1/23/2019	Tamansourt, 1/23-149, 2019	Housewife	Douar Ait Ali	Qsour Ouarzazate	2	Renter	F
7	Elite Professional	1/23/2019	Tamansourt, 1/23-150, 2019	Head of programming at Al Omrane Tamansourt	NA	NA	NA	NA	M
8	Local Douar Resident	1/26/2019	Tamansourt, 1/26-151, 2019	Housewife	Douar El Harmel	Douar Ait Ali	8	Purchased in Douar	F
9	Local Douar Resident	1/26/2019	Tamansourt, 1/26-152, 2019	Housewife	Douar Ait Ali	Douar Ait Ali	born and raised	Original Douar Residents	F
10	Local Douar Resident	1/26/2019	Tamansourt, 1/26-153, 2019	Housewife	Douar AlQaid	Douar Ait Ali	6.5	Purchased in Douar	F
11	Local Douar Resident	1/26/2019	Tamansourt, 1/26-154, 2019	Housewife	Agadir	Douar Ait Ali	4	Purchased in Douar	F
12	Local Douar Resident	1/26/2019	Tamansourt, 1/26-155, 2019	vendor	Doukala	Douar Ait Ali	11	Purchased in Douar	M
13	Local Douar Resident	1/26/2019	Tamansourt, 1/26-156, 2019	Housewife	Sidi BinNour	Douar Ait Ali	11	Purchased in Douar	F

14	Local Douar Resident	1/26/2019	Tamansourt, 1/26-157, 2019	Housewife	-	Douar Ait Ali	7	Purchased in Douar	F
15	Local Douar Resident	1/26/2019	Tamansourt, 1/26-158, 2019	Housewife	-	Douar Ait Ali	11	Purchased in Douar	F
16	Resident	1/29/2019	Tamansourt, 1/29-159, 2019	Housewife	Al Maseera II	Al Saada	4	Renter	F
17	Resident	1/29/2019	Tamansourt, 1/29-160, 2019	Housewife	Ouarzazate	Al Saada	2	Owner/Cash	F
18	Resident	1/29/2019	Tamansourt, 1/29-161, 2019	Housewife	Le Groupe Jamaï Apts.	Al Saada	4	Renter/Rahen	F
19	Resident	1/29/2019	Tamansourt, 1/29-162, 2019	Housewife	Asfi	Al Saada	4	Owner/Cash	F
20	Resident	1/29/2019	Tamansourt, 1/29-163, 2019	Storekeeper	Mohamadiya	Al Saada	4 months	Renter	M
21	Resident	1/29/2019	Tamansourt, 1/29-164, 2019	Housewife	Marrakech	Al Saada	-	Owner	F
22	Resident	1/29/2019	Tamansourt, 1/29-165, 2019	Housewife	Harbeel	Al Saada	-	Owner/Compensated	F
23	Resident	2/2/2019	Tamansourt, 2/2-166, 2019	Security Guard	Marrakech	-	7	Owner/Loan	M
24	Resident	2/2/2019	Tamansourt, 2/2-167, 2019	Storekeeper	Casablanca	Phase 5 Plots	1	Owner/Purchased from compensation	M
25	Resident	2/2/2019	Tamansourt, 2/2-168, 2019	Retired	Ourzazate	Riad Al Yakout/Riad Zahia	1	Owner	M
26	Resident	2/2/2019	Tamansourt, 2/2-169, 2019	Housewife	Mhameed/Marrakech	Phase 5 Plots	9months	Renter/Rahen	F
27	Resident	2/2/2019	Tamansourt, 2/2-170, 2019	Housewife	Isil (near Marjane)	Phase 5 Plots	-	Owner/Purchased from compensation	F
28	Resident	2/2/2019	Tamansourt, 2/2-171, 2019	Contractor	Casablanca	Phase 5 Plots	4	Owner	M
29	Resident	2/2/2019	Tamansourt, 2/2-172, 2019	Retired Military	Military Base	Dar Arrizk	5	Owner/Beneficary/Loan	F
30	Resident	2/2/2019	Tamansourt, 2/2-173, 2019	Retired Military	Bengrier	Dar Arrizk	6	-	M
31	Resident	2/4/2019	Tamansourt, 2/4-174, 2019	Realtor	Douar AlHarmel	Phase 7 Plots	born and raised	Owner/Compensated	M
32	Resident	2/4/2019	Tamansourt, 2/4-175, 2019	-	Al Afaq	Phase 7 Plots		Owner	F
33	Resident	2/4/2019	Tamansourt, 2/4-176, 2019	Baker	Had Soualem	Phase 7 Plots	2	Owner	F

34	Resident	2/4/2019	Tamansourt, 2/4-177, 2019	Housewife	Geuliz area	Phase 7 Plots	7	Owner/Compensated	F
35	Resident	2/4/2019	Tamansourt, 2/4-178, 2019	Housewife		Phase 7 Plots	5	Owner/Purchased from compensation	F
36	Resident	2/4/2019	Tamansourt, 2/4-179, 2019	Housewife	Casablanca	Phase 7 Plots	6 months	Owner	F
37	Resident	2/7/2019	Tamansourt, 2/7-180, 2019	Security Guard	Meseera II	Al Amal	5.5	-	M
38	Resident	2/7/2019	Tamansourt, 2/7-181, 2019	Carpenter	Casablanca	-	<1	-	M
39	Non-Resident	2/7/2019	Tamansourt, 2/7-182, 2019	Storekeeper	Sidi Yousef	NA	NA	-	M
40	Resident	2/7/2019	Tamansourt, 2/7-183, 2019	Storekeeper	Meseera II	Le Groupe Jamaï Apts.	8	Owner/Purchased from compensation	M
41	Resident	2/7/2019	Tamansourt, 2/7-184, 2019	University Student	Marrakech	-	8	-	M
42	Resident	2/7/2019	Tamansourt, 2/7-185, 2019	School Teacher	Marrakech	-	10	-	F
43	Resident	2/7/2019	Tamansourt, 2/7-186, 2019	Retired	Casablanca	Semi-Finished Villas	6 months	Owner	M
44	Resident	2/16/2019	Tamansourt, 2/16-187, 2019	Housewife	Chama3iya	Dar Arrizk	2	Renter	F
45	Resident	2/16/2019	Tamansourt, 2/16-188, 2019	Storekeeper	Douar Ait Itti	Phase 8 Plots	10	Owner/Compensated	F
46	Resident	2/16/2019	Tamansourt, 2/16-189, 2019	Housewife	Douar Ait Itti	Phase 8 Plots	10	Owner/Compensated	F
47	Resident	2/16/2019	Tamansourt, 2/16-190, 2019	Housewife	Harbeel	Phase 8 Plots	4	Owner/Purchased from compensation	F
48	Resident	2/16/2019	Tamansourt, 2/16-191, 2019	Housewife	Douar Ait Itti	Phase 8 Plots	11	Owner/Compensated	F
49	Resident	2/16/2019	Tamansourt, 2/16-192, 2019	Housewife	Douar Ait Itti	Phase 8 Plots	11	Owner/Compensated	F
50	Non-Resident	2/16/2019	Tamansourt, 2/16-193, 2019	Storekeeper	NA	Marrakech	2 yrs working here	Renting in Marrakech	M
51	Non-Resident	2/16/2019	Tamansourt, 2/16-194, 2019	Storekeeper	NA	Marrakech	NA	-	M

52	Non-Resident	2/16/2019	Tamansourt, 2/16-195, 2019	Construction worker	NA	Harbeel Commune	born and raised	has housing here, but prefers to live in the Douar	M
53	Resident	2/20/2019	Tamansourt, 2/20-196, 2019	-	Blad Hamer	Phase 6 Plots	6 months	Owner	M
54	Resident	2/20/2019	Tamansourt, 2/20-197, 2019	Housewife	Countryside	Phase 6 Plots	very recently	Renter	F
55	Resident	2/20/2019	Tamansourt, 2/20-198, 2019	Housewife	Tamensourt	Phase 6 Plots	10 years	Owner/Compensated	F
56	Resident	2/20/2019	Tamansourt, 2/20-199, 2019	Street vendor	Harmel	Phase 6 Plots	10 years	Owner/Compensated	F
57	Resident	2/20/2019	Tamansourt, 2/20-200, 2019	Housewife	AlMaseera	Phase 6 Plots	6 years	Owner/Purchased from compensation	F
58	Resident	2/20/2019	Tamansourt, 2/20-201, 2019	Housewife	Shishawa	Phase 6 Plots	4 years	Owner/Purchased from compensation	F
59	Local Douar Resident	2/20/2019	Tamansourt, 2/20-202, 2019	Housewife	A lot of places	Douar Ait Ali	7 years	purchased the Douar	F
60	Resident	2/20/2019	Tamansourt, 2/20-203, 2019	Housewife	Douar El Harmel	Phase 6 Plots	9 years	Owner/Compensated	F
61	Resident	2/20/2019	Tamansourt, 2/20-204, 2019	Housewife	Douar El Harmel	Phase 6 Plots	9 years	Owner/Compensated	F
62	Resident	2/20/2019	Tamansourt, 2/20-205, 2019	Housewife	Douar El Harmel	Phase 6 Plots	9 years	Owner/Compensated	F
63	Resident	2/20/2019	Tamansourt, 2/20-206, 2019	Housewife	Douar El Harmel	Phase 6 Plots	9 years	Owner/Compensated	F
64	Resident	2/20/2019	Tamansourt, 2/20-207, 2019	Storekeeper	Douar El Harmel	Phase 6 Plots	born and raised	Owner	M
65	Resident	2/20/2019	Tamansourt, 2/20-208, 2019	Mosque Imam	Marrakech	-	6	Renter	M
66	Resident	2/21/2019	Tamansourt, 2/21-209, 2019	College Student	Casablanca	Al Saada	1	-	M
67	Resident	2/21/2019	Tamansourt, 2/21-210, 2019	Motorcycle Guard	Marrakech	Al Saada	9	Owner/Compensated	F
68	Resident	2/21/2019	Tamansourt, 2/21-211, 2019	College Student	lots of places from	-	3 - 10 years	-	F

| #	Type	Date	ID	Occupation	Origin	Location	Years	Ownership	Sex
					Rabat to Marrakech				
69	Resident	2/21/2019	Tamansourt, 2/21-212, 2019	College Student	Marrakech	-	6 years	Owner	M
70	Resident	2/21/2019	Tamansourt, 2/21-213, 2019	College Student	Douar Ait Ali	Phase 7 Plots	born and raised	Owner	F
71-75	Non-Resident/Douar Focus Group	2/28/2019	Tamansourt, 2/28-214-219, 2019	Focus Group	Douar El Harmel	Douar El Harmel	buyers not original	Original *douar* residents	F
76-79	Non-Resident/Douar Focus Group	2/28/2019	Tamansourt, 2/28-220-222, 2019	Focus Group	Douar El Harmel	Douar El Harmel	buyers not original	Original *douar* residents	F
80	Elite Professional	2/28/2019	Tamansourt, 2/28-223, 2019	Local Public Official	Douar El Harmel	Douar El Harmel	-	-	M
81	Non-Resident	2/28/2019	Tamansourt, 2/28-224, 2019	-	Douar El Harmel	Douar El Harmel	15 years (since 2004)	Purchased in Douar	M
82	Non-Resident	2/28/2019	Tamansourt, 2/28-225, 2019	Storekeeper	Douar El Harmel	Douar El Harmel	born and raised	Original *douar* residents	M
83	Non-Resident	2/28/2019	Tamansourt, 2/28-226, 2019	Tailor	Douar El Harmel	Douar El Harmel	born and raised	Original *douar* residents	F
84	Non-Resident	2/28/2019	Tamansourt, 2/28-227, 2019	-	Douar El Harmel	Douar El Harmel	12	-	F
85	Resident	3/3/2019	Tamansourt, 3/3-228, 2019	College Student	Douar Ait Itti	Phase 8 Plots	1-11 years	Owner/Compensated	F
86	Resident	3/3/2019	Tamansourt, 3/3-229, 2019	-	Marrakech	Phase 7 Plots	3	Owner	M
87	Resident	3/3/2019	Tamansourt, 3/3-230, 2019	Artisan	Fes	Qsour Atlas Al Omrane	4	Renter/Rahen	M
88	Resident	3/3/2019	Tamansourt, 3/3-231, 2019	School Principal	Qalaat Sraghna	Phase 2 Plots	1	Owner	M
89	Non-Resident	3/7/2019	Tamansourt, 3/7-232, 2019	Housewives	different places/ Douar ElHabeeb AlAttar	-	2	Purchased in Douar	F
90	Non-Resident	3/7/2019	Tamansourt, 3/7-233, 2019	Housewives	different places/ Douar ElHabeeb AlAttar	-	6 years - 20 years	Original Douar/landowners	F
91	Non-Resident	3/7/2019	Tamansourt, 3/7-234, 2019	company employee/store owner	Marrakech	Tamansourt	9	-	M
92	Resident	3/7/2019	Tamansourt, 3/7-235, 2019	Housewife/Tailor	Fes	Phase 3 Plots	1	-	F

93	Resident	3/7/2019	Tamansourt, 3/7-236, 2019	-	Ait Itti - Mhameed	Phase 8 Plots	10	-	F
94	Resident	3/9/2019	Tamansourt, 3/9-237, 2019	Housewife	Old Medina	Phase 1 Plots	2	Owner	F
95	Resident	3/9/2019	Tamansourt, 3/9-238, 2019	Housewife	Dawdiyat	Phase 1 Plots	5	-	F
96	Resident	3/9/2019	Tamansourt, 3/9-239, 2019	Housewife	Agadir	Phase 1 Plots	3	-	F
97	Resident	3/9/2019	Tamansourt, 3/9-240, 2019	Housewife	Mhameed	Phase 1 Plots	2	-	F
98	Resident	3/9/2019	Tamansourt, 3/9-241, 2019	Housewife	Casablanca	Phase 1 Plots	4	Owner	F
99	Resident	3/9/2019	Tamansourt, 3/9-242, 2019	Housewife	Casablanca	Phase 1 Plots	6	Owner	F
100	Resident	3/9/2019	Tamansourt, 3/9-243, 2019	Housewife	Mhameed	Phase 1 Plots	10	Owner	F
101	Resident	3/9/2019	Tamansourt, 3/9-244, 2019	Housewife	Ourzazat	Phase 1 Plots	5	Owner	F
102	Non-Resident	3/9/2019	Tamansourt, 3/9-245, 2019	Store employee	Oujda	Harbeel Commune	NA - 4 years in Harbil	NA	M
103	Resident	3/9/2019	Tamansourt, 3/9246, 2019	Industrial Zone Employee	Azli	Phase 1 Plots	6	Owner	M
104	Resident	3/9/2019	Tamansourt, 3/9-247, 2019	Retired	Casablanca	Phase 1 Plots	10	Owner	F
105	Resident	3/9/2019	Tamansourt, 3/9-248, 2019	Housewife	Marrakech	Phase 1 Plots	10	Owner	F
106	Resident	3/14/2019	Tamansourt, 3/14-249, 2019	Housewife	Sidi Ghanem Industrial Zone	El Nakheel	5	-	F
107	Resident	3/14/2019	Tamansourt, 3/14-250, 2019	Baker (home business)	Soukuma(Marrakech Prob)	El Nakheel	8	Owner	F
108	Resident	3/14/2019	Tamansourt, 3/14-251, 2019	Housewife	Asli/Dawdiyat	El Nakheel	10	Owner	F
109	Resident	3/14/2019	Tamansourt, 3/14-252, 2019	Housewife	ElMaseera	El Nakheel	7	Owner/Renting while building	F
110	Resident	3/14/2019	Tamansourt, 3/14-253, 2019	Tailor (home business)	Casablanca	El Nakheel	<1	Renter	F
111	Resident	3/14/2019	Tamansourt, 3/14-254, 2019	retired	Abroad	Qsour Atlas Al Omrane	5	Owner	M
112	Resident	3/14/2019	Tamansourt, 3/14-255, 2019	Security Guard	Mhameed 9	Qsour Atlas Al Omrane	9	Owner/Loan	M
113	Resident	3/14/2019	Tamansourt, 3/14-256, 2019	Housewife	Ourzazat	Qsour Atlas Al Omrane	2 months	Renter	F

114	Resident	3/14/2019	Tamansourt, 3/14-257, 2019	Housewife	Agadir	Qsour Atlas Al Omrane	3	Renter	F
115	Resident	3/14/2019	Tamansourt, 3/14-258, 2019	Teacher	Marrakech	Phase 1 Plots	Did not move yet	Owner	M
116	Resident/Civic Leader	3/14/2019	Tamansourt, 3/14-259, 2019	Owner of a women's association in Tamansourt	Marrakech	El Nakheel	4 years	Owner	F
117	Resident	3/15/2019	Tamansourt, 3/15-260, 2019	Housewife	Rabat	Le Groupe Jamaï Apts.	5.5	Renter/Rahen	F
118	Resident	3/15/2019	Tamansourt, 3/15-261, 2019	Housewife	-	Le Groupe Jamaï Apts.	5	Renter/Rahen	F
119	Resident	3/16/2019	Tamansourt, 3/16-262, 2019	Former Hairdresser	Marrakech	Le Groupe Jamaï Apts.	9	Owner	F
120	Resident	3/16/2019	Tamansourt, 3/16-263, 2019	Housewife	Marrakech	Le Groupe Jamaï Apts.	6	Owner/Loan	F
121	Resident	3/16/2019	Tamansourt, 3/16-264, 2019	Photographer	Rabat	El Nakheel	10	Owner	F
122	Resident	3/16/2019	Tamansourt, 3/16-265, 2019	Housewife	Douar El'6alam	Le Groupe Jamaï Apts.	10	Owner/Compensated	F
123	Resident	3/16/2019	Tamansourt, 3/16-266, 2019	Housewife	Douar ElHarmel	Phase 6 Plots	10	Owner/Compensated	F
124	Resident	3/16/2019	Tamansourt, 3/16-267, 2019	Housewife	Azouzia	Le Groupe Jamaï Apts.	6	Renter/Rahen	F
125	Elite Professional	3/20/2019	Marrakech, 3/20-268, 2019	Private Architect/Firm Owner in Marrakech	-	NA	NA	NA	M
126	Elite Professional	3/21/2019	Marrakech, 3/21-269, 2019	Office manager at the Society of Engineers in Marrakech	-		NA	NA	F
127	Elite Professional	3/22/2019	Marrakech, 3/22-270, 2019	Head of Urbanism at the Urban Agency of Marrakech	-	NA	NA	NA	F
128	Elite Professional	3/22/2019	Marrakech, 3/22-271, 2019	Head of research at the Urban Agency of Marrakech	-	NA	NA	NA	M

129	Elite Professional	3/25/2019	Marrakech, 3/25-272, 2019	Director of land finance at Al Omrane Marrakech	-	NA	NA	NA	M
130	Elite Professional	3/25/2019	Marrakech, 3/25-273, 2019	Director of urban affairs at Marrakech Province (Wilaya)	-	NA	NA	NA	M
131	Elite Professional	3/26/2019	Tamansourt, 3/26-274, 2019	Vice President of Harbeel Commune	-	NA	NA	NA	M
132	Resident	3/26/2019	Tamansourt, 3/26-275, 2019	Street Vendor	Douar in Al Maseera	-	7	Renter	M
133	Resident	3/26/2019	Tamansourt, 3/26-276, 2019	Street Vendor	Countryside	-	10+	Renter	M
134	Resident	3/26/2019	Tamansourt, 3/26-277, 2019	Housewife	Douar Qudiya/Marrakech	Le Groupe Jamaï Apts.	9	Renter/Rahen	F
135	Non-Resident	3/26/2019	Tamansourt, 3/26-278, 2019	Street Vendor	Mhameed	Douar Si Azooz (1.5-2km from Tamansourt)	2	-	M
136	Resident	3/27/2019	Tamansourt, 3/27-279, 2019	Security Guard	Marrakech	Phase 5 Plots	8	-	M
137	Resident	3/27/2019	Tamansourt, 3/27-280, 2019	Treporter Driver	Marrakech	-	5	-	M
138	Resident	3/27/2019	Tamansourt, 3/27-281, 2019	Treporter Driver		-	10	-	M
139	Resident	3/27/2019	Tamansourt, 3/27-282, 2019	Baker/Business Owner/Cafe		Phase 5 Plots	4	Owner/Purchased from Compensation	F
140	Elite Professional	3/28/2019	Tamansourt, 3/28-283, 2019	Architect at Al Omrane Tamansourt	NA	NA	NA	NA	M
3/29/2019 – 4/2/2019 Trip to Ben Guerir – University Mohammed VI Polytechnic (MU6P)									
141	Resident	4/3/2019	Tamansourt, 4/3-284, 2019	Tailor/Street Vendor	Marrakech (Mohamadiya)	Phase 8 Plots	10	Owner/Compensated	F
142	Resident	4/3/2019	Tamansourt, 4/3-285, 2019	Street Vendor	Marrakech (Mohamadiya)	Phase 8 Plots	10	Owner/Compensated	M

Appendix 6:   Maps of Resident Interview Distribution

A.   Map of Interview Distribution in Tamesna's Neighborhoods

Note: 103 interviews with residents are represented in this map. These only include the residents who disclosed their housing location/development.

B. Map of Interview Distribution in Tamansourt's Neighborhoods

Note: 104 interviews with residents are represented in this map. These only include the residents who disclosed their housing location/development.
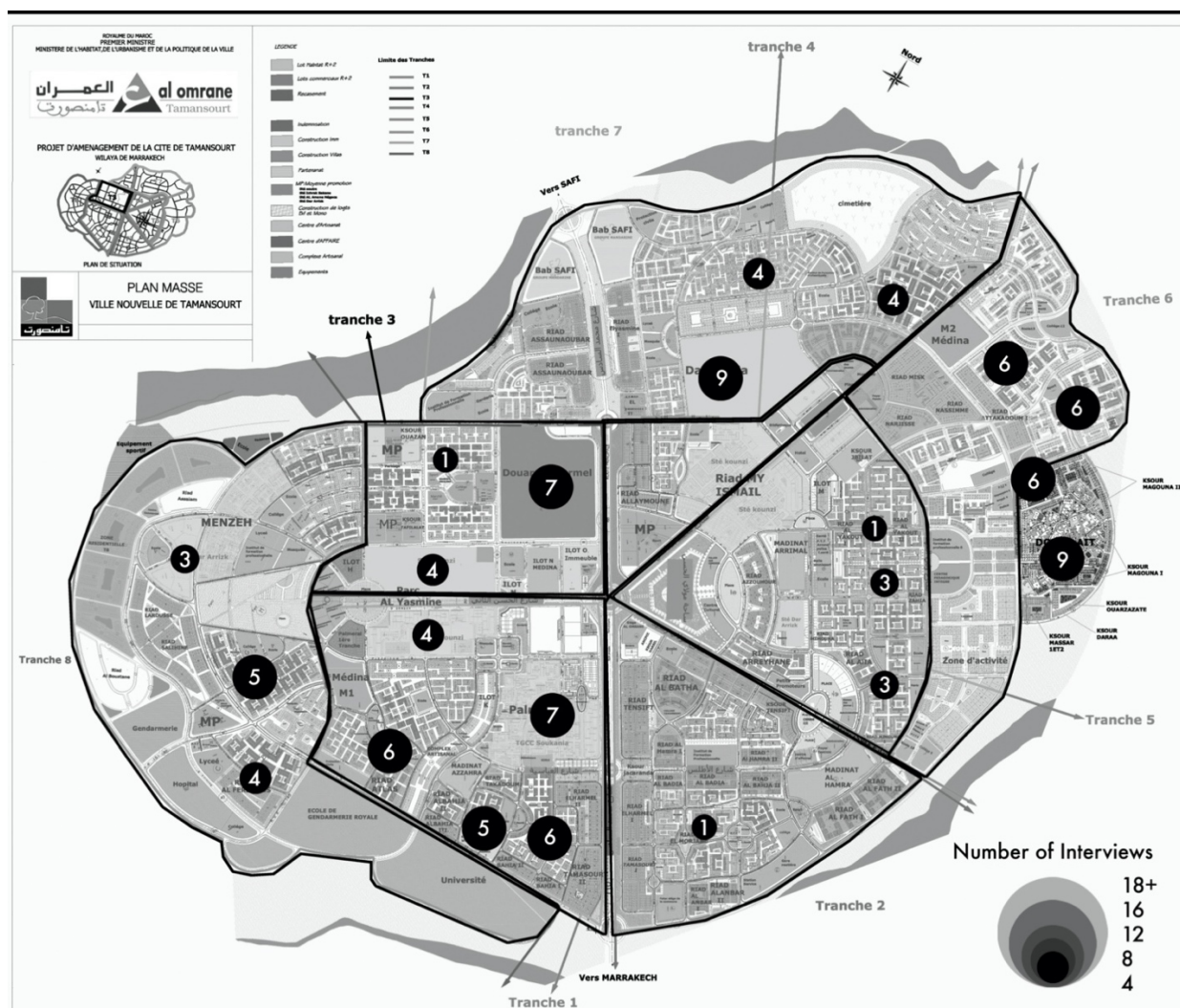
Appendix 7:   Letter of Support/Research Permit

from Mohammed VI Polytechnic University (UM6P) (English/Arabic)

August 4th, 2018

Letter of Invitation for Visiting Doctoral Researcher

Dear Ms. Fatmah Behbehani,

I am delighted to serve as your academic advisor for your PhD research project titled: Life in the New Town: The Planning and Social Implications of Morocco's New Town Experiment.

On behalf of the School of Architecture, Planning and Design at Mohammed VI Polytechnic University in Benguerir, Morocco, I am pleased to invite you as a visiting student researcher for a period of six months starting from September 17th, 2018 to March 30th, 2019.

I understand your stay in Morocco will be fully funded by your Kuwait University scholarship, our institution is available for any research related support you may need during your stay in Morocco.

We look forward to having you here as a visiting scholar for the 2018-2019 academic year.

Kindest Regards,

Dr. Hassan Radoine

Hassan Radoine, Ph.D., M.Phil., M.Sc., Dip. Arch.
Professor & Director
School of Architecture, Planning and Design
Mohammed VI Polytechnic University
Lot 660 Hay Moulay Rachid, 43150
Benguerir, Morocco
Office: +212 5 25 07 28 79
Mobile: +212 6 61 11 42 56
Email: hassan.radoine@gmail.com

Appendix 7:   Letter of Support/Research Permit

from Mohammed VI Polytechnic University (UM6P) (English/Arabic) (Continued)

التاريخ: 04/08/2018

الموضوع: دعوة باحث دكتوراه زائر

السيدة/   فاطمة بهبهاني   المحترمة
تحيه طيبه وبعد،

انه من دواعي سروري ان اكون جزء من الهيئة الإرشادية لمشروعكم وبحثكم لدرجة الدكتوراه و عنوان هذا البحث: الحياة في المدن الجديدة، و تأثير الاجتماعي و التخطيطي لهذه المدن الجديدة.

بالنيابة عن مدرسة الهندسة المعمارية و التخطيط والتصميم الحضري في جامعة مولاي الملك محمد السادس متعددة التخصصات التقنية في المملكة المغربية. أود ان أقدم لكم دعوة لزيارة المملكة المغربية لإتمام بحثكم الدراسي وذلك لمدة ستة شهور و من الفترة 17 سبتمبر 2018 حتى 30 مارس 2019.

و لدي كامل العلم بانكم مبتعثون من قبل جامعة الكويت و التي هي الهيئة المتكفلة بتكاليف اقامتكم بالمغرب، و لكن اود ان احيطكم علماً بأن جامعة مولاي الملك محمد السادس متعددة التخصصات و قسم العمارة و التخطيط و التصميم على أتم الاستعداد لتقديم كافة السبل العلمية و المعلوماتية لدعم بحثكم عن مدن الجديدة في المملكة المغربية.

وتفضلوا بقبول فائق الاحترام والتقدير

مع تحيات / د. حسن رضوان

د. حسن رضوان
Ph.D., M.Phil., M.Sc., Dip. Arch
بروفيسور وعميد
كلية العمارة و التخطيط و التصميم
جامعة محمد السادس متعددة التخصصات التقنية
660 حي مولاي راشد, 43150
بن جرير – المغرب
هاتف: +212 5 25 07 28 79
نقال: +212 6 61 11 42 56
hassan.radoine@gmail.com :بريد الكتروني

Appendix 8:   Land Sales Decree

A decree allowing the state to sell two pieces of government owned land in Harbeel Commune,
Marrakech to the Regional Agency of Planning and Construction of Tensift (ERAC Tensift) (Arabic)
Source: Ministry of Finance, Directorate of Makhzan Properties, 2005

المملكة المغربية

وزارة المالية والخوصصة

مديرية الأملاك المخزنية

ق ـــ رار

يأذن للدولة (الملك الخاص) في أن تبيع
بالتراضي قطعتين أرضيتين مخزنيتين
كائنتين بجماعة حريبل (عمالة مراكش)

ــــ

وزير المالية والخوصصة

بناء على الفصل 82 من المرسوم الملكي رقم 66-330 بتاريخ 10 محرم 1387
(21 أبريل 1967) بسن النظام العام للمحاسبة العمومية، كما وقع تغييره وتتميمه بالمرسوم رقم
2-02-185 الصادر في 20 ذي الحجة 1422 (5 مارس 2002)؛

وبناء على الاتفاقية المبرمة بتاريخ 26 دجنبر 2003 بين الدولة والمؤسسات العمومية في الإسكان
والمتعلقة بتفويت هذه الأخيرة مجموعة من الأراضي المخزنية من أجل تعبئتها في برامج إنعاش السكن
الاجتماعي ومحاربة السكن غير اللائق، من بينها قطعتان أرضيتان مساحتهما الإجمالية 1200 هكتار،
كائنتان بجماعة حريبل، عمالة مراكش؛

وبناء على كون هاتين القطعتين تنتميان إلى عقار مساحته حوالي 27500 هكتار تجري مسطرة
تحفيظه في إسم الملك الخاص للدولة حسب المطلب عدد 8254/م الذي قدمت في شأنه عدة تعرضات جزئية
من طرف بعض الخواص والدواوير المتواجدة بعين المكان وتعرض كلي صادر عن الجماعة الأصلية
لحريبل؛

وبناء على الاتفاقية المبرمة بتاريخ 9 أبريل 2004 بين وزارة الداخلية بصفتها الوصية على
الجماعات الأصلية ووزارة المالية والخوصصة (مديرية الأملاك المخزنية) والتي تتخلى بموجبها الجماعة
الأصلية لحريبل عن جميع التعرضات المتعلقة بالقطعتين المذكورتين من أجل الإسراع بتسوية وضعيتهما
القانونية، مقابل دفع الدولة (الملك الخاص) نسبة 50% من ثمن التفويت لفائدتها؛

وبناء على الطلب الذي تقدمت به الوزارة المنتدبة المكلفة بالإسكان والتعمير بتاريخ 14 ماي 2004
والرامي إلى تفويت هاتين القطعتين لفائدة المؤسسة الجهوية للتجهيز والبناء لمنطقة تانسيفت لإحداث المدينة
الجديدة "تمنصورت"؛

وبناء على محضر اللجنة الإدارية للخبرة المجتمعة بتاريخ 20 شتنبر 2004 والتي حددت قيمة
هاتين القطعتين اللتين أسس لهما الرسم العقاري عدد 43/11757، على أساس 50.000 درهم للهكتار؛

وبناء على كون المساحة الحقيقية للقطعتين أعلاه هي 1198 هــ 16 آر 42 س بعد خصم البقع
المخصصة للتجهيزات العمومية، وبالتالي تكون قيمتها الإجمالية 59.908.210 دراهم،

.../...

Appendix 8:   Land Sales Decree

A decree allowing the state to sell two pieces of government owned land in Harbeel Commune,
Marrakech to the Regional Agency of Planning and Construction of Tensift (ERAC Tensift) (Arabic)
Source: Ministry of Finance, Directorate of Makhzan Properties, 2005 (Continued)

–2–

قرر ما يلي:

المادة الأولى:

يؤذن للدولة (الملك الخاص) في أن تبيع بالتراضي، لفائدة المؤسسة الجهوية للتجهيز والبناء لمنطقة تانسيفت، قطعتين أرضيتين مساحتهما الإجمالية ألف ومائة وثمانية وتسعون هكتارا وستة عشر آرا وإثنان وأربعون سنتيارا (1198 هـ ـ 16 آر ـ 42 س) تستخرجان من الملك موضوع الرسم العقاري عدد 43/11757، الكائن بجماعة حربيل، عمالة مراكش، والمسجل تحت رقم 428 بكناش محتويات الأملاك المخزنية بهذه المدينة، وقد رسمت حدود هاتين القطعتين، علاوة على ذلك، بخط أحمر في التصميم المرفق بأصل هذا القرار.

المادة الثانية:

ينجز البيع المشار إليه في المادة الأولى أعلاه بثمن إجمالي قدره تسعة وخمسون مليونا وتسعمائة وثمانية آلاف ومائتان وعشرة (59.908.210) دراهم على أساس خمسين ألف (50.000) درهم للهكتار، يؤدى منه:

– 29.954.105 دراهم لفائدة الدولة (الملك الخاص)؛

– و29.954.105 دراهم لفائدة الجماعة الأصلية لحربيل.

المادة الثالثة:

تخصص القطعتان الأرضيتان أعلاه لإحداث المدينة الجديدة "منصورت"؛

المادة الرابعة:

بعد أداء الثمن على الشكل المنصوص عليه في المادة الثانية أعلاه، يحرر عقد البيع استنادا إلى هذا القرار.

المادة الخامسة:

يسند تنفيذ ما جاء في هذا القرار إلى مدير الأملاك المخزنية./.

الرباط، في 7 0 مارس 2005

وزير المالية والخوصصة

فتح الله ولعلو