

Urban Histories in Practice

Urban Histories in Practice:

Morphologies and Memory

Edited by

Jeffrey Kruth and Steven Rugare

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Urban Histories in Practice: Morphologies and Memory

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Edited by Jeffrey Kruth and Steven Rugare

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Jeffrey Kruth and Steven Rugare	
Section 1: Spatial Evolutions	5
Chapter 1	7
Are Slums Here to Stay? What Lessons Are to be Learned from the Vernacular Architecture of Informal Settlements in the Moroccan Context?	
Meryam Belkadi	
Chapter 2	31
Assimilation of Historic Villages within Tehran City: Tangible and Intangible Consequences	
Maryam Shafiei	
Chapter 3	51
A Study on the Evolution of the Built Fabric of the Bo-Kaap	
Mishkah Collier	
Chapter 4	68
Housing Hierarchies: As-Built Portraits of London's East End	
Anna Cooke	
Section 2: Transitional Phenomena, Disinvested Spaces.....	81
Chapter 5	83
New Faces in Historic Preservation? The Rust Belt's Young Preservation Movement	
Kelly L. Kinahan and Stephanie Ryberg-Webster	
Chapter 6	101
Redefining Social Housing: Architectural Alternatives to the Housing Crisis in the Rural Appalachians	
David Franco	

Chapter 7	116
Excess and the Edge: Popular Cultural Revival of a City Gary Brown	
Chapter 8	139
Behind the Curtain, After the Wall: Contextualizing Building States in the Former German Democratic Republic Jeffrey Kruth	
Section 3: Modernist Patterns and Their Evolution	159
Chapter 9	161
Dreams of the Emergent City: Kevin Lynch and the Revisioning of Cleveland's University Circle Gary Sampson	
Chapter 10	179
<i>Futurama</i> Toledo: Shrinking Cities and the Collective Memory of Plenitude Steven Rugare	
Section 4: Intangible Histories and Spatial Performance	191
Chapter 11	193
<i>Fluid Cities</i> : Interdisciplinary Shared Spaces for Imaginative Thinking and Collaboration Deland Chan, Carol Mancke, and Trena Noval	
Chapter 12	211
Heritage from Below: Post-Conflict Reconciliation in Syria Ataa Alsalloum and Soumyen Bandyopadhyay	
Chapter 13	241
Designation or Demolition? Conserving the Tangible and Intangible Heritage of London's Postwar Housing Tim Horne	
Chapter 14	261
Spaventa Residential Neighborhood Case Study: From Strategy to Project Alessandro Gaiani	
Contributors.....	272

INTRODUCTION

JEFFREY KRUTH AND STEVEN RUGARE

What is the relationship between history, memory, and the contemporary city? How have disciplinary frameworks influenced these relationships? For the better part of the last century, scholars and practitioners have grappled with the effects that rapid shifts in economics and population have had on urban morphology. The urgency of these conditions only grows in the contemporary context of rapid urbanization in the Global South and urban decline in deindustrializing areas of the Global North. These contexts suggest a continuing need for methods of analysis that can give expression to desires for quality of life and equity on a global scale.

Within this broad problematic, multiple disciplines shape our capacity to know the contemporary city. Economists, sociologists, geographers, planners, and architects each examine the city through distinct disciplinary lenses. At the same time, the city, as a lived experience and an everyday politics, is influenced by the practitioners of many of these same fields, resulting in disparate forms of praxis. To further complicate the picture, the application of any general framework takes place on a local level, where urban projects intersect with specific political trajectories and local identities.

This points to a problem in much high-level thinking about urban change. We often interpret the contemporary city by focusing on what it no longer is after the economic and informatics revolution of globalization. While these efforts at describing contemporary urban change are indispensable, they run the risk of assuming a negation of usable urban pasts that is not in evidence. Much that was in cities before they became “postindustrial” or “global” is still there, registering the pressures of change but also perhaps resisting them. This is often true of tangible fabrics but also of the intangible practices and memories that are networked through built fabric.

This book begins, then, with an informed hunch that there is new and useful knowledge to be found in working between disciplines to combine relatively fine-grained analysis of urban morphologies with the interpretation of the memories and historically produced identities that urbanites map onto them.

Precedents for this effort abound in urban theory literature. The lament for a more embodied and lived experience in the modern city at least stretches back to Lewis Mumford's famous 1926 book, *The Culture of Cities*. In it, Mumford argues for a more immediately lived experience in the city, which he felt had been lost through contemporary mediations of culture through technology.

A generation later, the Italian architect Aldo Rossi called for an engagement with the architecture of the city, emphasizing architecture's persistence through time as a testament to collective memory and spatial practice. For Rossi, the excavation and reassembly of the city was an important framework through which the immovable elements of history and architecture—urban artifacts—could be identified and potentially reinscribed in contemporary experience. Partially echoing Mumford's lament for the traditional city, Rossi sought architectural typologies that conveyed critical potentials that could only be found in history. Only through the careful combination of the city's artifacts and types could new urban forms emerge.

In more recent years, M. Christine Boyer's important critique of the postmodern city in *The City of Collective Memory* stands as a key intellectual precedent, along with the essays collected in Margaret Crawford and Michael Sorkin's *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*. Both of these works lament the failures of postmodern approaches to urbanism, in which a purely formal and nostalgic agenda was deprived of any critical potential, enabling or disguising the realities of development-driven capitalism in the very decades when markets in architecture and urban real estate became truly global. The effects of this design agenda can still be felt in any major city, and it is no wonder that all of these authors seek a design and planning practice that can, as Sorkin wrote elsewhere, "secure the value of the local."

The chapters in this book take that task to heart in their analysis, advocacy, and theorizing. Using varied methods, the authors engage in critical readings of specific built and discursive legacies in varied global contexts. Some form of social agenda permeates each piece, but none of them is utopian or totalizing. Rather, the emphasis is on various forms of close reading. The authors begin with the city as found and attempt to address each context in specific and precise terms.

Naturally, this sort of writing does not converge on any singular conclusion or shared recommendation for contemporary urbanism. Rather, these chapters have been chosen to address a shared problematic with methods ranging from traditional urbanist concepts like typology, to narrative methods based in sociology and geography, to interpretive methods based in visual culture studies and memory studies. Its key finding,

albeit preliminary, is that a combination of social scientific, historical, and graphic methods is required to localize critical practice and resistance in contemporary cities. We hope it will stimulate experimentation among scholars and practitioners to engage further in cross-disciplinary work that can ground critical intervention in urban contexts.

A secondary theme of this book concerns the field of historic preservation. In contemporary urban planning and design, historic preservation efforts are typically linked to larger development agendas that produce increased inequality and reduced access to affordable housing and services. Many of the essays in this book exemplify a critical scholarship that can better link the tangible urban fabric with intangible aspects of urban memory. This sort of work might allow community activists and their professional allies to tap into reserves of ideas and narratives that enable a preservation practice that acknowledges the historical urban fabric as contested space.

The chapters of this book originated in two conferences convened by the Architecture, Media, Politics, and Society (AMPS) international research group, one in London and one in Cleveland, and they were selected both for their methodological variety and the variety of urban and cultural conditions they address. We divided them into four sections to highlight shared themes and related methods. These sections progress—in a rough way—from accounts that are grounded heavily in on-the-ground evidence to those that are based more in intangible urban practices and narratives.

The first section, “Spatial Evolutions,” features the work of investigators who look closely at the grain of urban space in cities on three continents. These are the essays that pay the closest attention to morphologies, but the graphic and analytical tools used by these authors are instructively different. Their work suggests a range of techniques for documenting a city at scales ranging from the building to the district.

“Transitional Phenomena, Disinvested Spaces” is the title of the second section, and it focuses on parts of the US and Europe where deindustrialization and internal migration have resulted in population loss and economic decline. The methods used by the authors in this section are more disparate, and they navigate between scales more flexibly in order to give voice to complicated questions of localized agency and its relationship to prevailing tropes of neoliberal development economics.

A third grouping examines the lingering presence of modernist ideals and their incorporation into expectations about the city. Here, the emphasis is only partly on the historically produced built environment. Rather, these authors attend to what might be called the “urban imaginary.” These papers argue in various ways that modernist planning ideas are still alive in public

expectations and that they condition opportunities for contesting urban space in surprising ways.

Finally, four essays look at the construction of memory and its relevance in planning and preservation efforts, including post-conflict reconstruction in Syria. The final chapter takes the sequence of essays back to its beginning in built fabric, looking at memory as part of the architectural design strategy to modernize social housing on the periphery of Milan.

SECTION 1

SPATIAL EVOLUTIONS

The essays in this section all look closely at the constituent parts of urban fabric, examining the ways individual buildings are structured into blocks and spaces. This is the kind of work that has been a major concern of the urban design field since its beginnings, and it is fitting to start by examining it, given the editors' emphasis on the continuing relevance of morphology to social and political thinking on cities. However, each of the authors in this section looks at morphology for different reasons and brings different graphic techniques to bear on the problem.

Meryam Belkadi's goal is to evaluate the history of housing development in Morocco in order to understand the crucial impact of user-initiated modifications and informal development. She combines a critical look at the policy history with an architectural analysis of the units, using photos and drawings to inform her conclusions about the persistence of slum conditions in a postcolonial context and about the need for community participation in official efforts to formalize or clear these communities.

Looking at Tehran, Maryam Shafiei uses longitudinal mapping and typological analysis to understand how preexisting rural and village patterns persist, even as they are swallowed by the ballooning metropolis. Her research suggests that these modes of analysis remain valuable as a means of detecting and documenting resistant spatial patterns that might provide the basis for alternative development models.

Mishkah Collier uses analogous methods but with a different purpose. Looking at an inner-city neighborhood in Capetown, South Africa, Collier's goal is to draw out the layers of ethnic and cultural experience embedded in a place that is distinctive, thanks to colonial-era migration. This suggests that careful typological analysis can inform efforts to push back against generic development schemes that would further erase valuable urban histories that have survived the depredations of the colonial and apartheid regimes.

Finally, Anna Cooke's study of housing projects in London's East End interweaves historical evidence, personal spatial narrative, and photography to revalue the rich history of housing reform for (and only occasionally by)

London's working class. The objectivity implied by orthographic drawings is absent from Cooke's account. Rather, she relies on an urbanist's eye for the telling detail to open a discussion of how to interpret a rich and contested history.

CHAPTER 1

ARE SLUMS HERE TO STAY? WHAT LESSONS ARE TO BE LEARNED FROM THE VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN THE MOROCCAN CONTEXT?

MERYAM BELKADI

Introduction

One in eight people of the world's urban population lives in slums¹ without access to proper sanitation, water, electricity, and land tenure. The total population in Morocco is 35.28 million,² and the urban population rate in Morocco hovered around 60 percent in 2016.³ While UN-Habitat predicts an annual growth of 290,000 inhabitants between 2014 and 2030, by 2030, the urban population in Morocco will reach approximately 38.4 million, which will increase the gap between the demand and the supply in the housing market and might result in the proliferation of more slums in the future. The Moroccan government, in its effort to achieve the UN Millennium Development Goals and improve the life of urban dwellers, implemented several policies and housing programs to overcome slum issues. The latest program is the Cities Without Slums Program (CWSP),

¹ Participatory Slum Upgrading Programme, 2016. *SLUM ALMANAC 2015/2016: Tracking Improvement in the Lives of Slum Dwellers*. UN-Habitat.

² Youssef Maaroufi, *Population du Maroc par année civile (en milliers et au milieu de l'année) par milieu de résidence: 1960–2050*, https://www.hcp.ma/Population-du-Maroc-par-annee-civile-en-milliers-et-au-milieu-de-l-annee-par-milieu-de-residence-1960-2050_a677.html.

³ Judith A. Hermanson, *Slums, Informal Settlements, and Inclusive Growth in Cities: Examples from Morocco and Colombia*. (Washington, DC: IHC Global Coalition for Inclusive Housing and Sustainable Cities, 2016).

which was launched by a royal initiative in 2004. This program complies with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and specifically with goal eleven, which aims to “make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable,” and “by 2030, ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums.”⁴ As slums are still resisting in many cities of the country, it is important to discuss the limitations of implemented policies and to reconsider the slum phenomena as a lesson of urban forms, the built environment, and social structures of communities in cities of the Global South.

Slums under the Colonial Era in Morocco

The industrialization of the Moroccan economy, the decline of the agricultural sector, and the development of the “New City” by the French government attracted rural populations to the city. Between 1952 and 1960, the population of Casablanca grew by 41 percent.⁵ However, the city infrastructure was not prepared for this influx of new citizens, and the gap between the demand and the supply in housing units grew considerably. Therefore, the surplus of the urban population⁶ was absorbed by informal settlements as the new, incoming migrants “squatted” on available land that was previously located at the periphery of the city. Decades later, the new urban settlements, lacking access to rudimentary services such as sanitation and electricity, became the center of new housing policies because they represented a health threat—the spread of diseases such as cholera and tuberculosis—but they also represented a security threat due to the rise of nationalism in the country.⁷ In order to ensure the control of informal settlements, the French government adopted the *tabula rasa* approach by repeatedly clearing informal settlements. Similarly, after independence in 1956, the displacement of slum populations has been and still is the approach adopted by slum clearance programs in Morocco.

⁴ UN-Habitat, “Goal 11.” *UNSD*. February 14, 2018.

<https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/metadata/files/Metadata-11-01-01.pdf>.

⁵ Tom Avermaete, “Nomadic Experts and Travelling Perspectives: Colonial Modernity and the Epistemological Shift in Modern Architecture Culture,” in *Colonial Modern: Aesthetics of the Past—Rebellions for the Future*, by Tom Avermaete, Serhat Karakayali, and Marion von Osten (London: Black Dog, 2010), 130–151.

⁶ Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums* (London: Verso, 2004).

⁷ Tom Avermaete, “Nomadic Experts and Travelling Perspectives: Colonial Modernity and the Epistemological Shift in Modern Architecture Culture,” in *Colonial Modern: Aesthetics of the Past—Rebellions for the Future*, by Tom Avermaete, Serhat Karakayali, and Marion von Osten (London: Black Dog, 2010), 130–151.

Under the protectorate, the French government led by General Lyautey, and later his successors, called upon young architects and urban planners to research and bring alternatives to alleviate informal settlements. In 1953, during the CIAM 9 in Aix-en-Provence, two distinct groups of architects presented their findings at the summit based on the study of two slums, Carrières Centrales in Casablanca in Morocco, and Mahieddine in the periphery of Algiers in Algeria. The Moroccan case study, conducted by GAMMA (Group of Modern Moroccan Architects), was an unprecedented analysis, not only of the built environment of slums but also as a space for social practices. At CIAM 9, the GAMMA team, chaired by Ecochard, presented an innovative solution, entitled “the sanitary grid” (“*trame sanitaire*”), which was adapted to the living culture of slum dwellers. This grid enables progressive transformation of the housing unit in accordance with the changing needs of households. Additionally, it allows interactions between the outer space and the inner space through private courtyards. The “sanitary grid” is inspired by the medina, the Moroccan traditional house, which is built around a central patio. The “sanitary grid” is composed of one-story housing units that are built on eight-by-eight-meter lots around an internal patio/courtyard. The housing units are grouped around public/community amenities such as a public bath, creating a neighboring unit of 1,800 inhabitants. An assemblage of five neighboring units and a population of 9,000 inhabitants create a neighborhood. A neighborhood is equipped with larger amenities such as a school or a mosque. The new type of habitat proposed by Ecochard aimed at creating “an intermediate habitat,” one closer to the traditional housing patterns of the old medina and adapted to the new urban context of the *new* city. The choice to have individual housing instead of collective housing emanates from the conviction that the housing adapted to the “Moroccan Muslim” ought to be individual rather than collective.⁸

Subsequently, the urban development of Moroccan cities has been highly marked by the sanitary grid scheme. Indeed, in 1964, a decree relative to affordable housing was adopted, describing a new type of habitat called the “economic habitat” or the “Moroccan habitat,”⁹ which was highly inspired by Ecochard’s grid.

The urbanization trend in Morocco was sustained after the end of the French protectorate, and it has even accelerated as large cities continue to

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ “Decret N°2-64-445 Du 21 Chaabane 1384 (26 Decembre 1964) Definissant les Zones D’habitat Economique et Approuvant Lereglement General de Construction Applicable a ces Zones.” *Agence Urbaine Skhirate-Temara*. December 26, 1964. <http://www.aust.ma/images/pdf/decrets/decret2-64-445.pdf>.

draw an increasing number of rural-urban migrants who are fleeing poverty and aiming to improve their socioeconomic situation. As the post-protectorate Moroccan government was not fully equipped to plan, design, and accompany such a rapid urbanization, Moroccan cities continued to evolve as two disparate entities—a formal city that was the legacy of the French protectorate, and an informal one. The *laissez-faire* that marked the first decade post-protectorate tremendously enhanced the dichotomy of urbanization in Moroccan cities. Therefore, little attention was given to urban development policies and, specifically, to affordable housing policies. A decade later, in the 1980s, Morocco, similar to several countries of the Global South, underwent several structural adjustments imposed by the International Monetary Fund. These structural adjustments resulted in the implementation of economic and political reforms carried out by a new urban order—the neoliberal order. Nonetheless, the resistance of slums and the manifestation of forced evictions speak to the failure of the housing delivery system in Morocco to adapt to the social, economic, and spatial needs of slum dwellers within the neoliberal context of cities. It is also the expression of the impossibility of national urban policies to overcome structural constraints such as the informal economy and the lack of access to formal financial services. In neoliberal cities characterized by the withdrawal of the role of the state as the principal provider of housing and services, as well as the failure of the private sector to fully respond to market needs and provide adapted housing supply to a broad array of socioeconomic groups, every socioeconomic group adapts and innovates in the urban realm.

The “Cities Without Slums Program” (CWSP)

At the turn of the new millennium, and in collaboration with the UN, housing policies in Morocco underwent a fundamental change. In 2004,¹⁰ the CWSP was launched and supported by a national and international framework, which considerably contributed to its success. In his discourse of August 20, 2001, the king of Morocco, Mohammed VI, urged the political officials for “the elaboration of a legal and regulatory framework of a programmed national project, clearly defined, aiming at the eradication of the existing informal settlements and slums,” as well as “to show ingenuity in finding new financial sources, that are reliable and stable.” The royal discourse was soon followed by a declaration of the Moroccan government to review the housing system delivery in order to offer more

¹⁰ ONU-HABITAT. *Evaluation du Programme National “Villes Sans Bidonvilles”*: Propositions pour en accroître les performances. Rabat: ONU-HABITAT, 2011.

affordable housing options for the poorest population groups, with the goal of eradicating slums and informal housing. Additionally, the CWSP was supported by the “Cities Without Slums” action plan, which was developed by the Cities Alliance in July 1999; this program promotes the development of inclusive cities¹¹ in the context of rising urbanization and urban poverty. Moreover, the CWSP was also enhanced by the United Nations Millennium Declaration that states several goals, including achieving “a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers as proposed in the Cities Without Slums initiative.”¹²

The CWSP is one of the largest slum clearance programs in the history of the country. The CWSP targets eighty-five cities in the kingdom and 421,699 households, with an overall cost of MAD 32 billion.¹³ In 2010, the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development in Morocco, along with Al Omrane Holding, won the UN-Habitat Scroll of Honour award “for delivering one of the world’s most successful and comprehensive slum reduction and improvement programmes (aka CWSP). In a concept already being replicated in Egypt and Tunisia, the Moroccan programme widely considered the best of its kind in Africa, is spearheading Morocco’s Cities without Slums drive.”¹⁴ Beyond the optimistic perspective that these reports offer regarding slum clearance operations in Morocco, the reality of it on the ground is problematic and complex. Indeed, the last few years were marked by many forced mass evictions that were operated by the local government and law enforcement agents, especially in the two biggest cities of the country, Casablanca and Rabat. The most recent mass eviction took place in Douar (slum) Wasti in Casablanca, as well as in Douar Al Garaa in Rabat, in 2018 and 2019, respectively. The destruction of the slums in Douar Wasti alone caused the displacement of 5,000 people and the

¹¹ Cities Alliance. *Cities Alliance Country Programmes*. Accessed December 11, 2018.

<http://www.citiesalliance.org/sites/citiesalliance.org/files/CP-FactSheet-web.pdf>.

¹² UN General Assembly (55th sess. : 2000–2001). *United Nations Millennium Declaration, Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly*. A/RES/55/2, UN General Assembly, 2000. Accessed December 11, 2018.

<https://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f4ea3.html>.

¹³ Ministère de l’Aménagement du Territoire National, de l’Urbanisme, de l’Habitat et de la Politique de la Ville. *L’Habitat Insalubre au Maroc* (Rabat: Ministère de l’Aménagement du Territoire National, de l’Urbanisme, de l’Habitat et de la Politique de la Ville, 2018).

¹⁴ UN-Habitat. *The 2010 UN-HABITAT Scroll of Honour Award Winners*. September 7, 2010,

<http://www.unis.unvienna.org/unis/en/pressrels/2010/unisous046.html>.

destruction of 1,500 housing units.¹⁵ According to the same article, the eviction took place before the completion of the negotiations between slum dwellers and local governments. Consequently, the evicted families had to find other housing options (i.e., staying with relatives or camping on-site) as a manifestation of their anger and frustration. The same source¹⁶ states that slum dwellers were granted land plots, located thirty kilometers away from the city and outside the urban periphery. The mass evictions in the context of CWSP speak to the program's limited efficiency first, in providing adapted policies and solutions for the slums' elimination, and second, in ensuring resiliency to the relocated (evicted) communities.

When the program was first launched, it aimed at eradicating all slums in Morocco by 2012. However, several inner inefficiencies of the program, as well as outer constraints, limited its achievement by 2012¹⁷ as the plan initially projected. The first constraint involves the constant increase in the number of slum households due to the constant influx of rural migrants to the city, as well as the expansion of existing families (through marriages and births). The CWSP failed to implement preventive measures to limit the attractiveness of slums for newcomers to the city. Between 2004 and 2015, the number of slum households increased by 40 percent—a rate of 10,000 households per year. Currently, and knowing that the annual production of housing units designed for slum dwellers was estimated to be only 100,000 in 2011, the estimated number of units needed to absorb all slum dwellers by 2020 is 585,000 units.¹⁸ The second constraint to slum eradication is land availability and land tenure, especially in big cities such as Marrakech, Tangiers, Rabat, and Casablanca. Indeed, the accessibility to land within a close distance to the city center is limited. Also, the publicly owned land is located on the fringes of the city, thus making it less attractive for potential future owners (i.e., relocated slum dwellers). In addition to the abovementioned constraints, the financial tools aimed at households in the context of the CWSP, such as guaranteed loans, have also proven to be inadaptable.

¹⁵ Tefano Portelli and Loretta Lees. *Eviction and Displacement from the Neighborhood of Douar Wasti in Casablanca, Morocco*. October 3, 2018.

<http://www.ijurr.org/news/eviction-and-displacement-from-the-neighborhood-of-douar-wasti-in-casablanca-morocco/>.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Al Omrane Group, *Leading Actor for Settlements Upgrading*. UN-Habitat, 2010

¹⁸ Ministère de l'Habitat et de la Politique de la Ville. "Projet de Performance 2017." Rabat, 2017.



Fig. 1-1. Douar al Kouara during the demolition of the few remaining slums. Photo by author.

Slums, Locus of Social Practices

Slums are spaces of rich human capital and economic opportunity, places where community social interactions and values are embedded in the built environment (private and public). Consequently, slums should be transformed and improved, not removed,¹⁹ as removing them implies destroying social networks and the slum's relevant social human capital. In the face of the deficiency or absence of institutions designed to assist the poor, the social capital in slums represents an important support system for these slum dwellers. Community members bring financial support to their peers, keep their children, and help each other in the organization of family events. They also help them in the process of finding a job because in many cases, people of slums work in the same markets, factories, or handcraft workshops.

The social capital in slums is enhanced through the spatial configuration. Because the area of housing units in slums is, in many cases, smaller than the ten square meters advised by the World Health Organization, slum dwellers extend their social *praxis* to the public space. Therefore, the public space is used for household chores as well as for professional purposes. The public space is also used for socializing—a space where children play and where women meet. In Moroccan slums, doors are rarely closed during the day, and public spaces are watched and monitored by community members.

¹⁹ William Cobbett, *How Cities Can Get Rid of Slums by Supporting Them*, April 22, 2013. <https://nextcity.org/informalcity/entry/how-cities-can-get-rid-of-slums-by-supporting-them>.

Because slum clearance policies in Morocco overlook two important components of slums—their social capital and the income-generating activities taking place there—the relocation projects are not adapted spatially, socially, and economically (financially) to the needs of the slum dwellers. Several slum dwellers work in the slums; they either own retail units there, such as hair salons or grocery shops, or they use their housing unit as a workshop. Consequently, moving to new neighborhoods that have no retail spaces available increases the vulnerability of the new dwellers who are unable to practice their professional activities but still need to bear a large share of the cost of construction or ownership of the new housing units.

Regarding social capital, Françoise Navez-Bouchanine²⁰ emphasizes the importance of the adaptation of the projects to the social needs of the population. Starting in 1999, she initiated several workshops in Morocco to implement a social contract that involved the government and the institutions collaborating in slum clearance programs, as she considers the social paradigm to be crucial in the eradication of slums. Her work, far from the “classic,” standardized, regularized model, combines qualitative and quantitative approaches to produce social reliability in the proposed projects. However, her work was constrained by the nature of the political framework in Morocco.

In the Face of Neoliberal Urban Policies, What is the Legacy of Slums and Informal Settlements?

Douar Kouara is one of the oldest slums in the city of Rabat, the capital of Morocco. As of the summer of 2019, the slum residents are being evicted and housing units are being destroyed. Households that have been living there for decades are undergoing a forced relocation toward the urban outskirts of the city. Douar Kouara is not an exception in the city of Rabat, as households living in another nearby slum—Douar Al Garaa—are facing the same situation, along with other slums throughout the country. These evictions take place under a heavy security apparatus, including police and law enforcement, with the aim of preventing any movements of resistance or uprising.

Beyond the disintegration of spatial and social networks established for many decades, the destruction of these slums annihilates an important part of the history of urbanization in cities of the Global South, and the ingenuity

²⁰ Françoise Navez-Bouchanine, “La Fragmentation: Source et ‘Definitions.’” *Les Annales de la recherche urbaine*, 2008: 152163.

of the urban poor to adapt to a new spatial environment through different stages of their lives (i.e., migration, the improvement of their socioeconomic situation, the expansion of the family through births and marriages). Indeed, the legacy of slums ought to be documented, as architectural and urbanistic lessons can be drawn from them. Henceforth, as a part of a study conducted by the author in 2010, a sample of housing units has been surveyed, and a number of households have been interviewed. The aim of this spatial/social research was to understand the demographics of slums and the key behind their urban attractiveness, not only for low-income population groups but also for lower-middle- and middle-income ones. Below are the key aspects drawn from the analysis of these units:

1. Social networks are inherent to spatial networks. The two networks function intrinsically.
2. Improvements to housing units reflect improvements in the socioeconomic situations of households and/or social events such as marriages and births. These improvements are not only aesthetic but, in some cases, they consist of vertical and horizontal expansions.
3. Spaces are multifunctional. In some units, spaces that are used during the day as living rooms are used during the night as bedrooms. In other units, kitchens are used as bedrooms during the night.
4. Commercial activities (though informal) are flourishing in slums, as slums are located in large catchment areas. Ground-floor spaces in some units are turned into proximity stores and craft workshops—an innovative configuration in the slums of the live/work units proliferating in contemporary Western cities.
5. Storage spaces are planned and designed according to the needs of the households and in accordance with their professional activities.
6. Homeownership is valued in slums, as it offers households the right of belonging to the city, even marginally. Despite the informality of housing units and the illegality of land occupation, there is a recurrent statement that is brought up in interviews with slum dwellers: “*Baada andi douira diali*” (“At least I have my own home”). Therefore, the resistance of slum households to moving out is a resistance to downgrading conditions, which would affect their right to ownership and their quality of life. It impedes their freedom to design and customize their own housing unit.
7. Resistance to slum households’ relocation is inevitably repressed. However, in some cases, repression takes peaceful forms that are embedded in the social engineering practices of local authorities.

L'accompagnement social (“social support or guidance”)²¹ is a tool that has been implemented as a part of the CWSP to mitigate households’ resistance. Social guidance involves the assistance provided to households during the relocation process, as well as during the auto-construction process.²² In addition, social guidance aims at involving communities to better accommodate their expectations, their financial resources, and the constraints that communities might face during the relocation process. This tool has proved to be successful at different levels, depending on several factors like the political local context, the willingness of governing institutions to involve communities, and the degree of engagement of the civic society (e.g., neighborhood associations). Furthermore, recent uprisings in Douar Wasti in Casablanca speak to the inefficiency of social guidance in mitigating the collapsing trust in government entities and the rise of a tense political climate, in which the current relocation operations are taking place in Morocco.

²¹ Christian Arandel and Anna Wetterberg, “Between ‘Authoritarian’ and ‘Empowered’ Slum Relocation: Social Mediation in the Case of Ennakhil, Morocco,” *Cities* 30 (2013): 140–148, 10.1016/j.cities.2012.02.005.

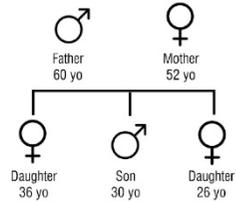
²² ONU-HABITAT, *Evaluation du Programme National “Villes Sans Bidonvilles”*: *Propositions pour en accroître les performances*. Rabat, ONU-HABITAT, 2011.

Sheet 1 - Douar Kouara #149

The household moved to Douar Kouara in 1966 from Oulad Mîaa

The main income of the family comes from the thirty-six-year-old daughter's factory job. Her monthly income is MAD 1,000

The father works occasionally as a mason. His income is irregular.



Rooms	Use	Area (sq.m)	Sq.m per person	Miscellaneous
Room #1	Sleeping area for the daughters	10	5	No windows Mattresses on the floor
Room #2	Living room Sleeping area for the parents	10.5	2.1	-
Kitchen	Cooking	1.7	-	Window
W.C.		0.9	-	
Hall	Extension of the kitchen Parking for the father's motobike	5.5	-	Presence of a mirror (bathroom use)
Rear Yard	Storage for the father's tools	3.7	-	Opening ensuring ventilation

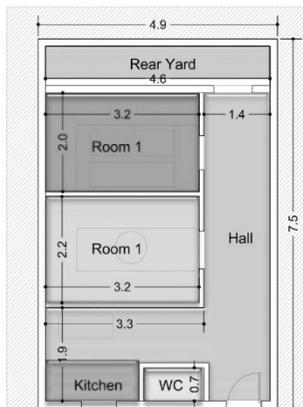


Fig. 1-2. Socioeconomic status of a household living in unit 149 in Douar Kouara in Rabat. From author.

Sheet 2 - Douar Kouara #102

The household bought their housing unit in 1982 and moved to Douar al Kouara from Al Haouz

Two members of the family contribute to the income. The daughter works as a housekeeper for a monthly wage of MAD 600. The son works as a mechanic for a monthly income varying between MAD 400 and MAD 800.

Rooms	Use	Area (sq.m)	Sq.m. per person	Miscellaneous
Room #1	Sleeping area for the son	8.8	8.8	Biggest room of the unit
Room #2	Sleeping area for daughter and the grandson	5.2	2.6	Little furniture
Room #3	Dining room Sleeping area for the mother and the daughter	4.9	0.98	
Kitchen	Cooking	2.8	-	
W.C.		1.4	-	
Court	Ventilation and lighting	7	-	Hanging up laundry

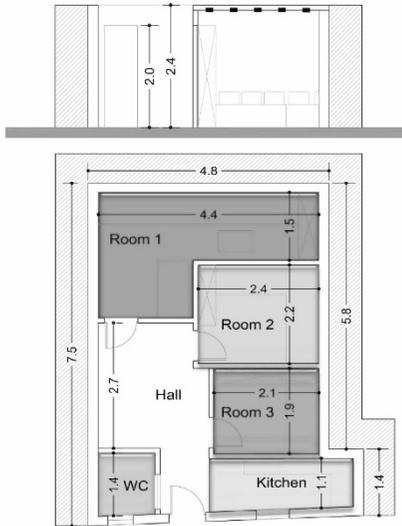
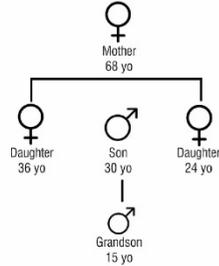
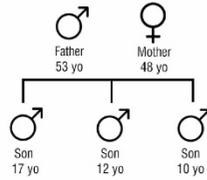


Fig. 1-3. Socioeconomic status of a household living in unit 102 in Douar Al Kouara in Rabat. From author.

Sheet 3 - Douar Kouara #247

The household bought their unit in 1944 and moved to Douar al Kouara from El Jadida.

The father is the breadwinner. He works at the market as a carrier, and his monthly income varies between MAD 700 and MAD 750.



Rooms	Use	Area (sq.m)	Sq.m. per person	Miscellaneous
Room	Sleeping area (for 4 family members) Living room Dining room	9	1.8	Only room of the unit
Kitchen	Cooking Studying area for the children	1.7	0.65	-
W.C.		1.5	-	-
Hall	Extension of the room and the kitchen Sleeping area for 1 family member	3.2	-	-
Storage		0.88	-	-

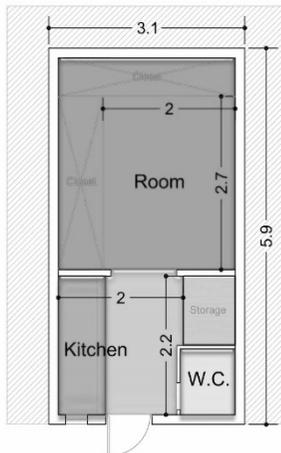


Fig. 1-4. Socioeconomic status of a household living in unit 247 in Douar Al Kouara in Rabat. From author.

Sheet 5 - Douar Kouara #111

The household bought the plot in 1979 and built their unit the same year. They moved to Douar al Kouara from Oulad Hriz.

One member of the family contributes to the income. The daughter works as a spice vendor in the market. Her monthly income varies between MAD 350 and MAD 500.



Rooms	Use	Area (sq.m)	Sq.m. per person	Miscellaneous
Room #1	Sleeping area Living room Dining room	8	-	-
Room #2	Sleeping area for the mother and the daughter	6.5	3.25	-
W.C.	-	1.5	-	W.C. has no door
Kitchen	Cooking	6.7	-	The household uses a camping stove
Hall	Kitchen and W.C. extension	3.2	-	-

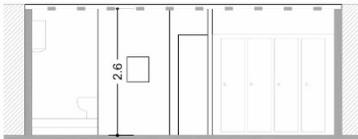
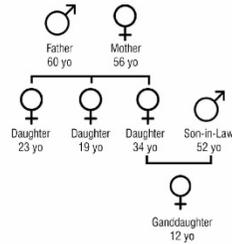


Fig. 1-5. Socioeconomic status of a household living in unit 111 in Douar Al Kouara in Rabat. From author.

Sheet 6 - Douar Kouara #108

The household bought their unit in 1974 and moved to Douar al Kouara from Marrakech. When their daughter got married, the unit was split to accomodate two households.

The son who works at the municipality for a monthly income of MAD 800 is the only member of the family with a regular income. Other family members (the married daughter and son-in-law) have monthly irregular incomes totaling between MAD 500 and MAD 800, the daughter works as a seamstress and the son-in-law as a carpenter's assistant.



	Rooms	Use	Area (sq.m)	Sq.m. per person	Miscellaneous
	Room #1 (Household #1)	Sleeping area Living room Dining room	7	1.44	-
	Kitchen	Cooking	5.53	-	-
	Hall	Sleeping area for the two unmarried daughters	3.84	-	-
	W.C.	-	0.7	-	-
	Room #2 (Household #2)	Sleeping area Living room Dining room	3.45	1.04	-
	Storage	Storing	3.13	-	-

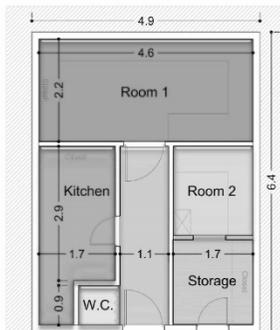
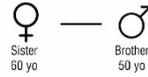


Fig. 1-6. Socioeconomic status of a household living in unit 108 in Douar Al Kouara in Rabat. From author.

Sheet 7 - Douar Kouara #33

The sister bought the unit in 1998. Her brother moved in a few years later.

The sister is the only family member to contribute to the income. She works as a street vendor. Her monthly income hovers around MAD 950. The brother is unemployed.



	Rooms	Use	Area (sq.m)	Sq.m. per person	Miscellaneous
1st Floor	Room #1 (for the sister)	Sleeping area Living room Dining room	5.14	5.14	-
	Hall	Storage	1.97	-	-
	W.C.	-	0.71	-	-
2nd Floor	Room #2 (for the brother)	Sleeping area for the brother Storage of the merchandise	4.55	4.55	-
	Staircase	-	1.95	-	Storage under the staircase
	Kitchen	Cooking Laundry	3.1	-	-

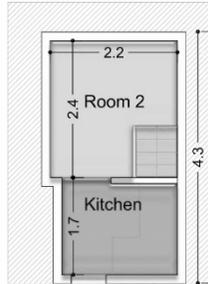
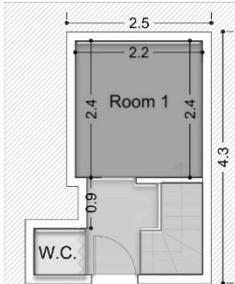
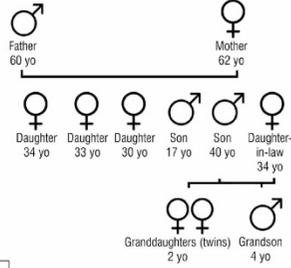


Fig. 1-7. Socioeconomic status of a household living in unit 33 in Douar Al Kouara in Rabat. From author.

Sheet 8 - Douar Kouara #65

The household bought their one-story unit in 1970, and constructed the second floor in 1992.

The father is retired and has a monthly pension of MAD 500. The seventeen-year-old works as a carpenter's assistant for a monthly wage of MAD 700. The third son is unemployed.



	Rooms	Use	Area (sq.m)	Sq.m per person	Miscellaneous
1st Floor	Room #1	Sleeping area Dining room	7	1.75	-
	Room #2	Sleeping area Living room	8.83	-	-
	Hall	Kitchen extension	5.83	-	Fridge is located in the hall
	Kitchen	Cooking			Located under the staircase
	Staircase	-	1.5	-	
2nd Floor	Room #3	Sleeping area Dining room	9.5	1.9	-
	Kitchen	Cooking	1.12		
	Hall	Kitchen extension Laundry	4.01		
	Room # 4	Sleeping area for the father and the mother	5.26	2.63	-
	W.C.	-	0.65	-	-



Fig. 1-8. Socioeconomic status of a household living in unit 65 in Douar Al Kouara in Rabat. From author.

Slums Are Resisting in the Neoliberal Context of the Global South. Why?

The Moroccan government injected MAD 10 billion, out of the MAD 32 billion that was the overall cost of the CWSP,²³ and proceeded to restructure the institutional framework by developing private-public partnerships and granting tax incentives to private developers to spur private investments in the affordable housing sector; initiating the creation of the solidarity fund; and initiating the implementation of “New Cities” and “New Urban Poles” programs—on publicly owned available land—to absorb new real estate developments near existing cities such as Rabat, Casablanca, and Marrakech.

Additionally, in 2004, the Moroccan government (i.e., the Ministry of Housing and Town Planning), in parallel with the CWSP, launched the “New Towns” program, announcing the construction of fifteen new towns mainly on publicly owned land. The program was introduced as a response to the shortage of housing units and the pressure it put on the housing market in big cities such as Rabat and Casablanca, resulting in high property values. Thus, the new towns were intended to cater to all income groups, including low-income population segments. This program is of interest for this research because the new towns, through the construction of capped-price apartment units and the servicing of land plots, were intended to absorb a considerable number of households that had been relocated from slums. However, among the fifteen new towns, only four were coordinated and initiated: Tamesna near Rabat, Sahel Lkhyata near Casablanca, Tamensourt near Marrakech, and Chrafate near Tangiers. Furthermore, the initiated towns experienced dysfunction and delays in realization, including issues with poor infrastructure, a lack of connectivity to main urban centers (e.g., Rabat, in the case of Tamesna), and a slow construction pace due to the scarcity of private investments. In the city of Tamesna, for instance, by 2014, only 1,192 capped-price apartment units had been built out of the 6,248 initially planned units.²⁴

²³ Ministère de l’Aménagement du Territoire National, de l’Urbanisme, de l’Habitat et de la Politique de la Ville, *L’Habitat Insalubre au Maroc*. (Rabat: Ministère de l’Aménagement du Territoire National, de l’Urbanisme, de l’Habitat et de la Politique de la Ville, 2018).

²⁴ Cour des Comptes. Rabat: Cour des Comptes, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.courdescomptes.ma/upload/_ftp/documents/Societe%20A1%20Omrane%20Tamesna.pdf.