

# Zenata Beach



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# Zenata Beach

## The Temporary City

The temporary city is a 5 km long strip of vacation houses (cabanons).

It is located in the Municipality of Aïn Harrouda, between Casablanca and Mohammedia and covers almost all its coastline.

The strip consists of around 670 cabanons and most of them are equipped with basic infrastructure.

The strip lies in an area where for more ten years all construction is forbidden.

But not only are new structures being built constantly, their common features suggest that they all obey certain regulations.

Why do people who construct illegally obey building regulations?

How can a process, that is officially outlawed, be controlled?



# The Temporary City





**The Temporary City**

**Mohammedia**

**“Zone sous surveillance foncière  
toute construction est interdit”**  
Plan d'Aménagement, approved 1989

**Municipality of  
Aïn Harrouda**

As one starts moving away from Casablanca on the regional route towards Mohammedia, on either sides of the highway there are mostly industrial buildings. Also lined along the coastline one finds many restaurants and cafes, few beach clubs and bidonvilles.

Moving further towards the outskirts of the city, there are patches of green wasteland used as pastures. Similar patches are lined along the coastline which also serve as weekend picnic spots.



Empty lots along the shoreline



Bars and Cafes along the regional route



Panorama Mohammedia

## Edge- Mohammedia

The vacation houses in Zenata continue further down till the edge that marks the beginning of the Industrial area in Mohammedia, which is the center of Morocco's Petroleum industry.

The fences demarcating the industrial zone from this zone are in a state of decay today.



The strip with Mohammedia's industry in the back



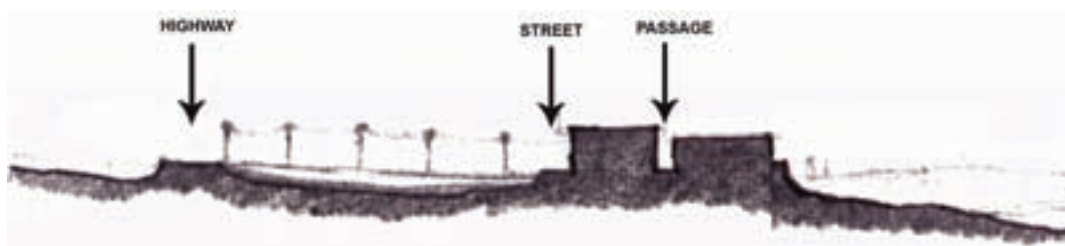
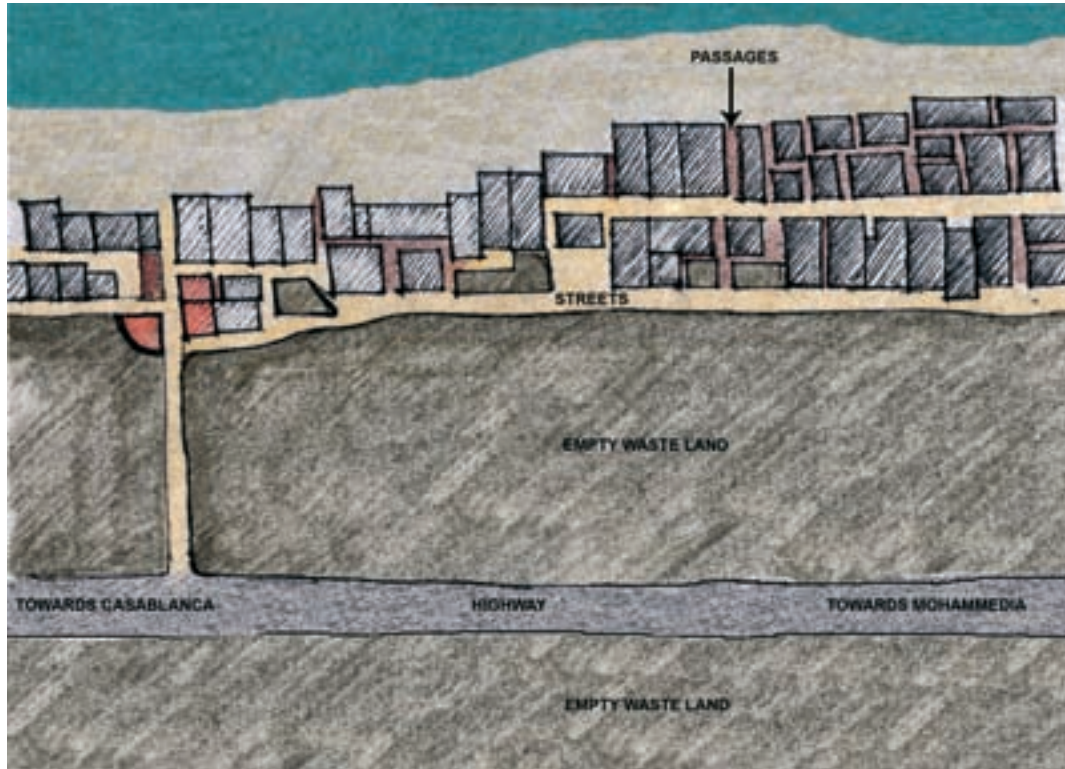
Border industrial zone- building reserve zone



## Elements of the Temporary City

If we look at a section of the strip perpendicular to the coast-line the following elements can be differentiated:

1. The regional route connecting Casablanca with Mohammedia
2. The waste land between the regional route and the local street mostly used for shepherding
3. The regional road allowing access to the vacation houses
4. The strip of houses and the passages breaching it
5. The beach







Panorama of the cabanons from the beach (1,2)

Elevation towards the road (3)

Elevation towards the beach (4,5)

A small road from the regional route to Casablanca leads to the vacation houses. Two pillars define this entrance built by the Municipality of Ain Harrouda.

Buses and taxis which pass by every 15 minutes and 5 minutes respectively serve as means of transport, connecting the city with the vacation houses.



## Infrastructure

Electricity is provided for by the Lydec, a private company. Potable water is provided by the Municipality of Aïn Harrouda. Buildings like the Police station and the Community hall were built by the Municipality but at present are in a state of disuse. Also constructed and unused are public showers and a lifeguard cabin.

Along with these, the road connecting the vacation houses with the regional route to Casablanca and Mohammedia was paved and a proper entrance defined to the beach houses. A paved sitting area often used by children as a basketball court adds to the infrastructure of the place.

The Committee formed of the people living in the vacation houses appoint a Guardian for maintaining cleanliness on the beach. The garbage is disposed in a trash-dump nearby.

Cafes, Bars and Shops are there, but mostly used by the local people not by the people visiting their vacation houses.

Police Station



Sitting area used as Basketball court



Community Hall



Cafe and teleboutique

The streets allow for an easy access to the beach. Most of the time the streets are deserted except on weekends when people from Casablanca and Mohammedia come.



## Passages

The passages between the vacation houses are often very narrow. Some streets have now been transformed to passages due to encroachment. The passages make sure that everybody can access the public beach.





# The Projected City

Why the Temporary City Must Be Temporary

## Michel Écochard and the Linear Industrial City

Even though all of Casablanca is built on the Meseta plain, a hard and flat base which leads to the ocean in a gentle slope of around 2%, there are a few topographic features that influenced the development of the city.

From the center towards the west and south-west the slope is very slight and constant, only interrupted by the crests of Anfa in the far west. In the east on the other side, there is a series of elevations parallel to the coast, separated by faint valleys.

It can be seen as a result of this topographic setting that Casablanca's growth has two very specific features: radial expansion around the harbour towards the south and west and linear expansion along the coastline towards Mohammedia. The linear expansion towards Mohammedia has always been connected to the harbour and the industrial development inspired by the harbour.

In 1946 functionalist urbanist Michel Écochard was hired to head Casablanca's Town Planning Department in order to reform the Protectorate's Urban Policy. Employing the tenants of the Athens Charta he proposed to extend the city regionally instead of just densifying the centre as planned by his predecessor. By that time the harbour had already continuously expanded in northwestern direction.

Écochard's vision was to extend this development thirty- five kilometers along the coast thereby tripling the city's occupied area.

This "Casa- Fédala Industrial Complex" was planned as a coastal, linear city with industry and workers's housing on the seashores and a strip of villas behind.

*"We have included Fédala (Mohammedia) in our analysis of Casablanca in order to paint a broader picture of what is known as "rural disintegration". The area between Casablanca and Fédala is industrial. Casablanca accounts for approximately 75 percent of the country's industry, while Fédala boasts a port and cheap land. Naturally, this has had repercussions on the narrow strip of land that lies between the two cities, and which is connected by road, rail, and sea link."*

*Michel Écochard, 1951*

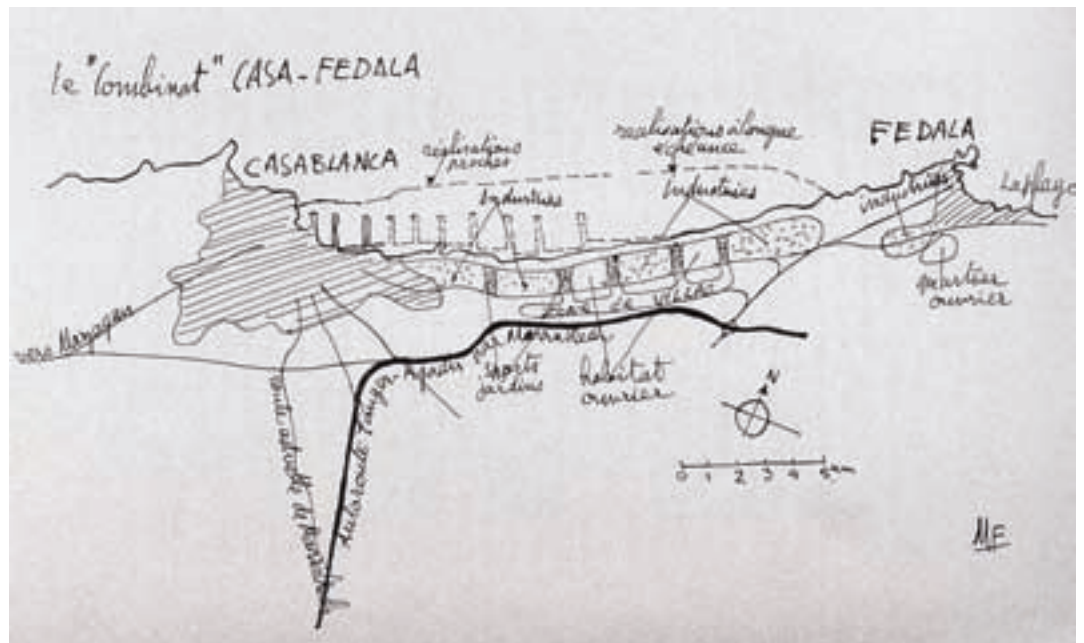
Since the expansion of Casablanca never took place in the expected degree, large parts of that area remained empty for many years to come.



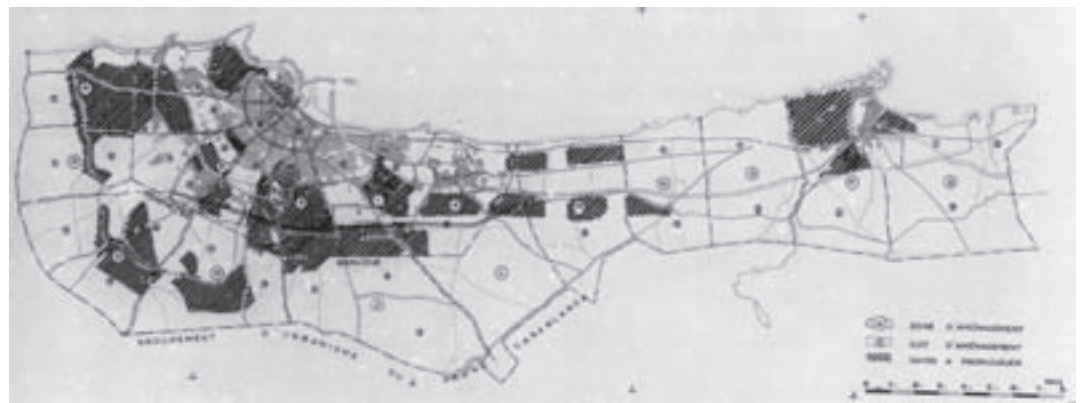
Atlas du Maroc, Topography of the Casablanca region



Michel Écochard, sketch for the "Casa- Fédala complex" (1951), in Rapport préliminaire sur l'aménagement et l'extension de Casablanca, 1951



Michel Écochard, development plan for Casablanca, 1951. Functional zoning and areas of development



## Michel Pinseau and the Schéma Directeur

When Michel Pinseau, the french architect also responsible for the Mosque Hassan II, was asked to develop a plan for Casablanca's future in 1981 (Le schéma directeur et l'organisation administrative du Grand Casablanca), he proposed the extension of Casablanca towards Mohammedia as the main strategy for Casablanca's future growth.

In 1984 the Agence Urbaine de Casablanca (AUC) was founded as a tool to coordinate the different communities of the region and to put the ambitious plans of the schéma directeur into effect.

Until now only few measures proposed in the schéma directeur have been implemented. A plan for Zenata New Town, an ambitious project for the first satellite town in the Casablanca region is under development. The main goal is to set up an infrastructure in the area before "the city grows over it". Involved are various ministries (Finances, Equipment and Transport, Habitat...), the communities, the city, the region and the Wilaya of Casablanca as well as the "Caisse dépôt de gestion" an obscure, semi-private financial institute under control of the king.

The main problem in this operation is to accumulate the 2150 ha of real estate needed to construct the satellite city. Of this 2150 ha 300 ha are public domaine, 30 ha come from the AUC and 1600 ha must be obtained from private land owners. The Moroccan government has still not been able to pass a law regulating the public appropriation of land (especially the right of preemption). Three procedures are now being discussed: purchase, expropriated or letting the landowners participate in the development.

While the bigger picture remains undecided, rezoning has already started in Aïn Harrouda and even construction sites can already be found in various places.



Zoning in progress



Illegal construction?



The failure to follow the schéma directeur, especially in terms of land management, has fueled a lot of criticism toward the Agence Urbaine in particular from the free-practicing architects who feel that they are held responsible for the built environment but have no possibility to participate in its design.

*“The Moroccan city is still shaped by functionaries... Of 2500 architect in Morocco, 1000 work for the administration and have no possibility to reflect on architecture because they are bound to the opinions of their superiors. The private architects on the other hand have ideas but no means to express them...”*

*The Agence Urbaine still operates in an old fashion that does not function in our times anymore. It cannot continue to be managed as it was up to that point... The Agence must play the part of an engine. It must be a source of investments. It must encourage a public discussion, it must explain its vision of the city, it must make public its strategy. It cannot afford the luxury not to communicate.*

*All agents of the process must be involved: the architects, the people’s representatives, the private developers. Today, no authority can be allowed not to communicate, and even less when it is called the Agence Urbaine de Casablanca”.*

*Fouad Akalay, Architect, Director Archimédia Press Group*

The fact that the AUC is still under the control of the Ministry of the Interior and not the Ministry of Habitat it often seen as the key reason for the grievances. This is a legacy of the old Morocco, controlled by Hassan II and his circle of power the “makhzen”.

His son Mohammed VI's efforts to reform the country have allowed more democracy but also created a power-vacuum in the Moroccan government.

An internal conflict has arisen between the democratic governance and the protégés of the old systems defending their privileges.

Today four ministries are not appointed by the Prime Minister but by the king himself. Amongst them is the Ministry of Interior, which is traditionally the center of makhzen power. It is also a tradition that city-planning is a subject handled by the king himself.

These circumstances, with the AUC not operating under the Ministry of Habitat but parallel to it have been paralyzing the urban development of Casablanca.

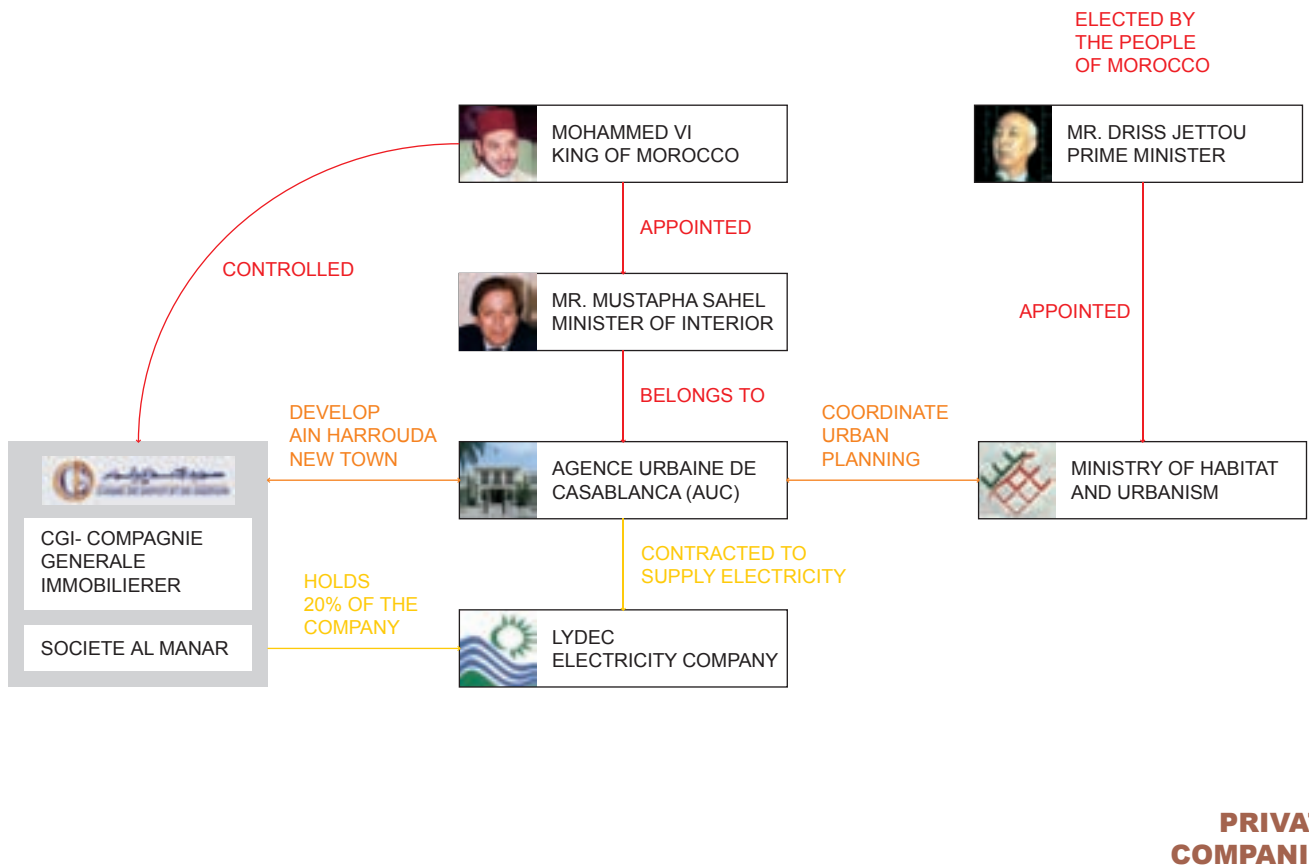
Since the expiration of the “Plan d’Aménagement” in 1998 Casablanca is more or less without an operative urban planning tool. The AUC has been incapable of designing a new plan and still employs the old one, thereby blocking all development in Ain Harrouda and other parts.

Private promoters are still waiting for 3000 hectares of land promised to be privatized in 2003. To unblock the situation the Prime Minister and the Ministry of Habitat have introduced a system of exceptions: extraordinary permissions can be granted to projects bringing an economic and social benefit to Morocco.

Naturally, this allows various interpretations and has created a legal grey-zone.

**MONARCHIC GOVERNANCE (MAKHZEN)**

**DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE**



Power relations in the Moroccan government

## Casablanca's growth

Casablanca is under very heavy demographic pressure. Around 100'000 Moroccans arrive in the city every year, mostly from the Atlas mountains and other rural regions. This is the reason for Casablanca's strong and often uncontrolled growth.

### Rural-urban migration in Morocco

Morocco has experienced a recent rise in urban population from 29.3% of total population in the early 1960s to 48.4% in 1995. Rural-urban migration averages 3.6%/ year and played a key role over the past 30 years.

Migration during the 1980s is attributed to deepening economic hardship in villages. Prior to 1971, migration was to the largest cities, particularly those cities on the Casablanca- Kenitra Atlantic axis. During the 1980s, migration was to medium-sized cities such as Marrakech, Fes, and Sale.

The reasons for migration are identified as reduced water supplies, lack of arable land or degraded land, increased population pressure, and the land tenure system that ranges from fragmented plots to concentrated farms. Rural areas had a lack of health and educational services and opportunities for educated workers. The 1982 census identified migrants' place of origin as southern or northern areas.

In 1991,

33% of migrants reported the reason for migration as the search for better jobs or better wages. 31% indicated migration was in order to join a family member or spouse. 11% migrated for educational reasons.

87.5% of migrants were under 30 years old at time of departure. 39.5% were under 15 years and 25% were 15-19 years. 23.2% were 20-29 years old.

The 1991 survey revealed that the number of migrating women was always higher than the number of migrating men. Men tended to migrate for economic reasons, and women primarily migrated for family reasons. Most men were unmarried at the time of migration, while most women were already married. 79% of migrating women did not have a formal education. In 1991, about 50% of the men and 50% of the women were unskilled. Only 7% sent remittances to relatives in rural areas. 70% visited at least once.

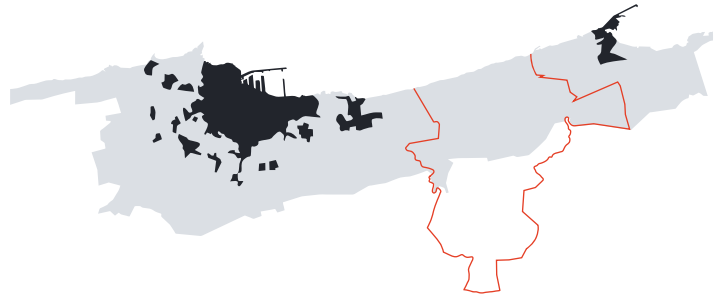
Based on recent national surveys: the 1986-88 Moroccan Demographic and Health Survey (Dh), the 1991 Survey on Internal Migration, and the 1994 CERED.

### A race to shape the city

As mentioned before the AUC has the ambition to construct an urban infrastructure in Aïn Harrouda before people start settling there. Yet, Casablanca's demographic pressure is affecting Aïn Harrouda too. Population in the Mohammedia-Zenata prefecture has risen from 101'000 in 1971 to 154'000 in 1982 to 211'000 in 1991. Under this circumstances it is almost impossible to keep the public land free until the planning and acquisition of private land allows the start of construction.

This is the setting for the Temporary City. In a situation where the authority has neither the means to develop a place nor to keep it free, a temporary occupation can be a good protection against a permanent occupation.

1950: Casablanca counts around 650'000 inhabitants and spreads over 11'500 hectares



1986: Casablanca counts around 2'400'000 inhabitants and spreads over 98'000 hectares



2000: Casablanca counts over 3'500'000 inhabitants and spreads over 160'000 hectares







# The Hidden Order

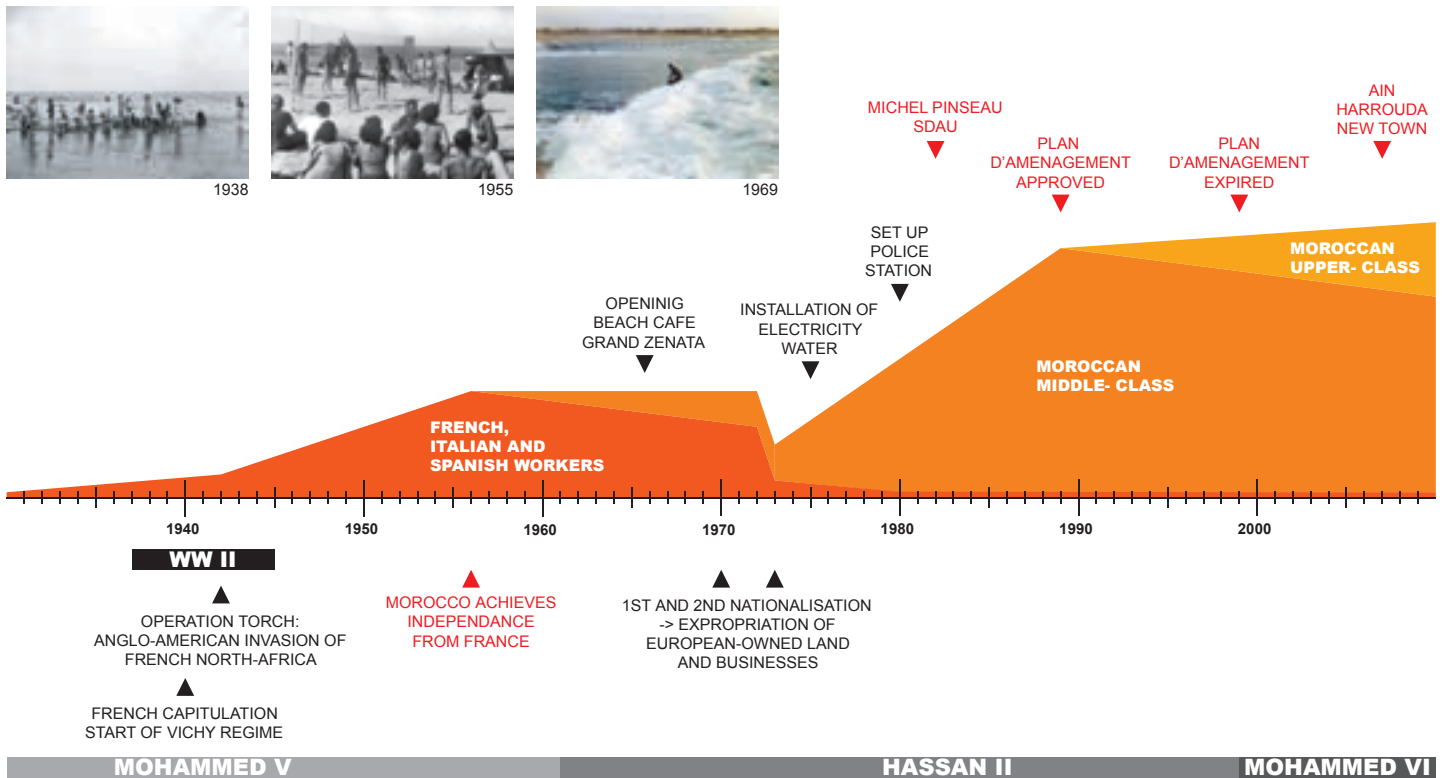
How the Temporary City Functions

# History of Zenata Beach

The history of settlements on Zenata's Beaches goes back to the time of the french protectorate. While the noblesse of Casablanca preferred the beach clubs of Ain Diab, the shores in the north-east attracted mostly working-class Europeans of Italian, French and Spanish origin. At that time the first structures were erected on the beach: the blue and white tents typical for that time.

In the 1940s the first bungalows were built. Of course, at that time neither potable water nor energy was provided. Most Europeans kept their houses even after the land changed hands from the French administration to the King in 1952 (Morocco's independence from France). But when European-owned businesses were expropriated due to the first and second Nationalization most of the European workers left the country.

The vacation houses were then taken over by middle- class Moroccans mostly from Casablanca and Rabat. Since then, the number of houses has risen continuously and infrastructure such as water and electricity were added during the 70s. Even an administrative building and a police station (even though not in use) were constructed. The growth was slowed down with the Plan d'Aménagement in 1989 which made it harder to obtain building permissions. From that time the clientele became more exclusive; especially government functionaries started occupying the last vacant lots.



Illustrations from Jacques de Loustal's "Zenata Plage" showing the evolution of architecture in Zenata.

Blue and white beach cabin



Wooden shed with water tank



Brick house with water tank, electricity line and house number



## The Hidden Order

## The Current Situation

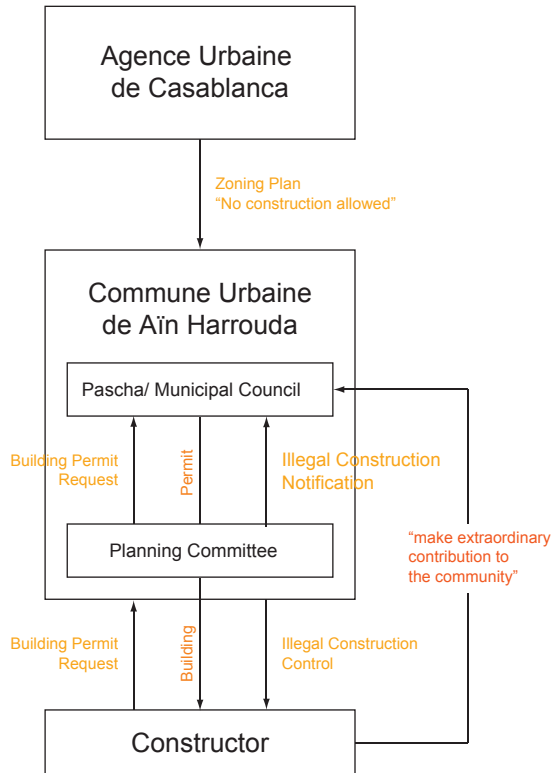
In 1989 the “Plan d’Aménagement de la Ville de Casablanca” was validated, declaring Aïn Harrouda as “Zone d’extension future de l’agglomération” and therefore all construction was forbidden.

In Zenata Beach this made the construction of new buildings harder but not impossible.

Even though the order from the Agence Urbaine is not to allow any construction, the Pascha always has the power to grant extraordinary building permits. This is taken into account when the constructor is willing to “make extraordinary contributions to the community”.

On the subject of illegal construction control, the responsible Planning Committee can only file cases but in the end whether an illegal house will be destroyed or not is always a political decision taken by the Pasha.

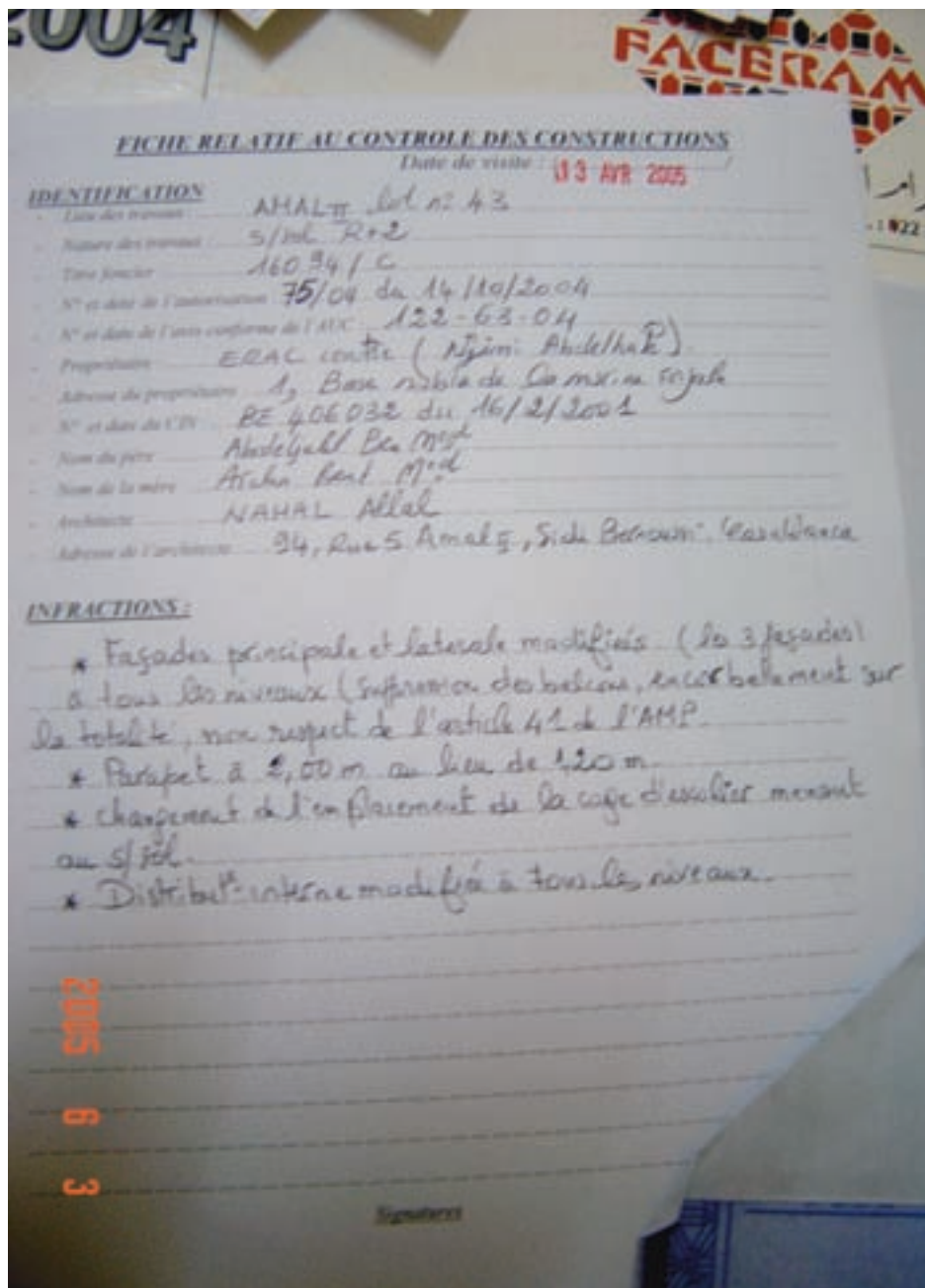
There is a tendency in the last years to give the lots away as a gratification to retired government officials or other influential personalities.



New house under construction



Neighboring house ruined for illegal construction



### Construction control file

Filed by Ain Harrouda Planning Committee

#### Infringements:

- principal and lateral facades modified (all three facades) on all floors (removal of the balconies), cantilever over the whole facade, disrespect of article 41 of the AMP
- parapet at 2 m instead of 1.20 m
- change of the site of the stairwell leading to the basement
- internal disposition changed on all floors

## Progression Anarchique

In the city's struggle to keep the land in Aïn Harrouda free for future developments their fiercest enemy is what the local mason calls the "Progression Anarchique".

This describes the process of constant expansion that can be witnessed in Aïn Harrouda as well as in other neighborhoods of Casablanca.

The leaseholders are constantly improving and expanding their housings. Step by step they are adding on new material to the houses in order to gain more usable space. In the case of the vacation houses the "Progression Anarchique" involves several tactics.

The most common is to move one's fencing wall and thereby incorporate public land. This has led to a diminishment of the local road network. Especially the passages leading to beach often fall victim to this practise.

Another common move is to enclose existing patios and install new patios in front or add spacial elements to the house in all directions.

A less often used strategy is to increase the building's height or add new stories. Probably because this is too obvious a contradiction to the building type of the vacation house.

The house owners seem to be aware of the subjective criteria employed by the authorities. One basic principle is that everything is to be avoided that is or seems "urban" because the temporary city cannot be a city.

Even though the "Progression Anarchique" is happening very slowly it will ultimately urbanize the whole area if the Aïn Harrouda Planning office doesn't intervene.



Blocked passages



Additive architecture



House with third floor

## Example

The house of a Moroccan shopkeeper. He has inherited the house from his father, who had built it in the 1970s. When he took over the house from this father, he renovated and expanded it with the help of a mason.



House of a Moroccan shopkeeper in the new part of the settlement.

Legend:

- 1 Bedroom
- 2 Traditional Moroccan living room
- 3 Kitchen
- 4 Bathroom/toilet
- 5 Living room
- 6 Store

Area added to the house while renovation.



House in the denser and older part of the settlement which hypothetically has not been extended unlike other houses built or renovated recently.



View from the hall looking towards the entrance



View of the extended segment.



## Rules and Exceptions

The Aïn Harrouda Planning Office as the responsible authority has created a set of flexible rules to confine the urban sprawl.

- The buildings can have two floors at maximum.
- There has to be a gap of at least one meter between each house to allow access to the public beach.
- The buildings have to be constructed inside a designated zone (orange line) on the allotment plan. Every now and then the this line is adjusted to reality and vica versa.

All rules can be bent by obtaining a extraordinary permit from the Pascha.

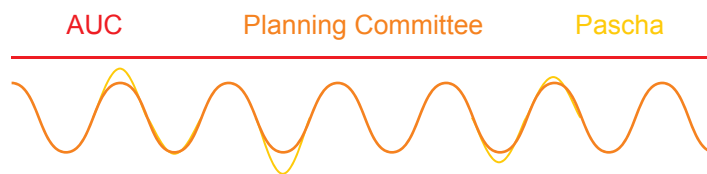
The rules can only be bent to a certain extent. The Agence Urbaine who must keep the area from urbanization will intervene if they have the impression that there is too much construction going on.

This puts the house owners in a situation where they have to judge how far they can go without getting caught.

A kind of game where the goal is to expand one's house as much as possible and the risk is to loose the whole house.

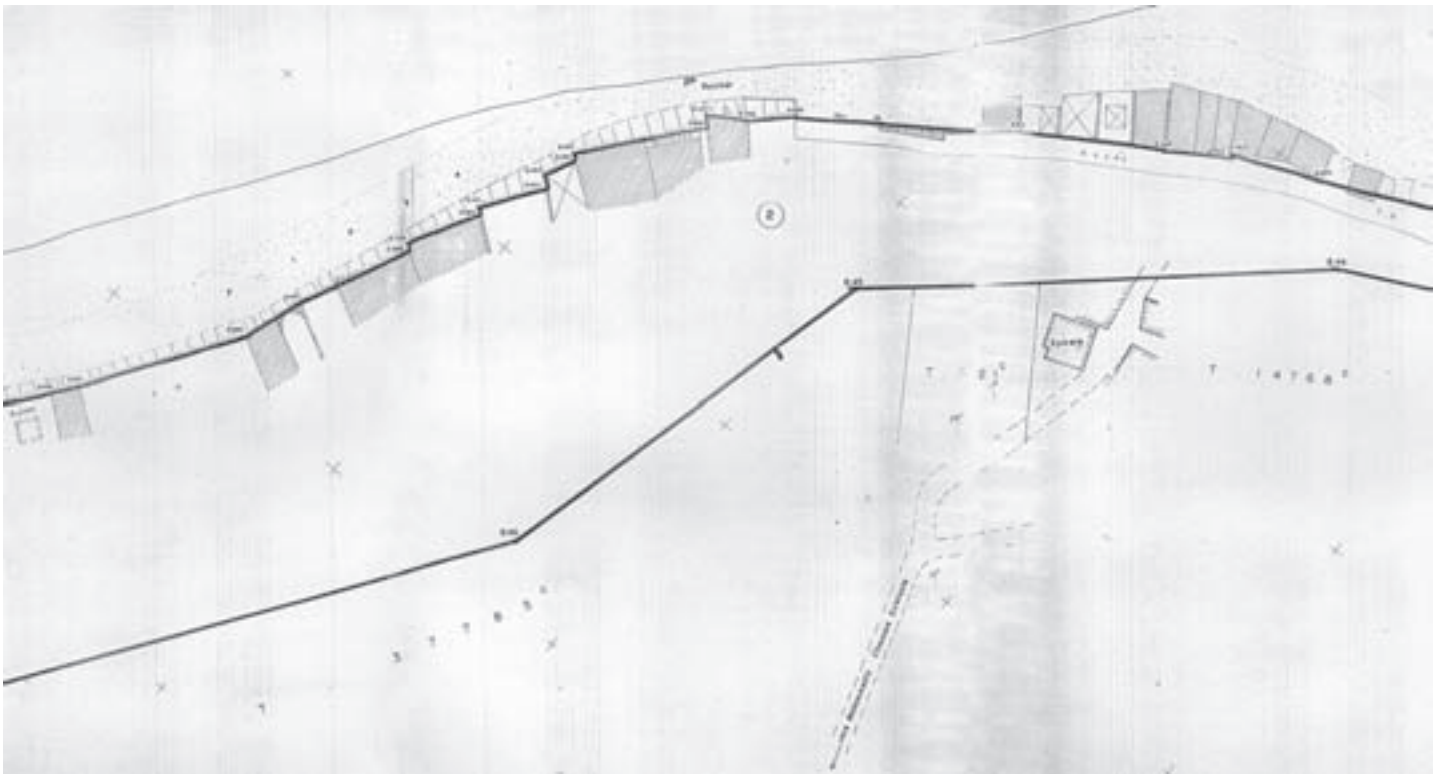
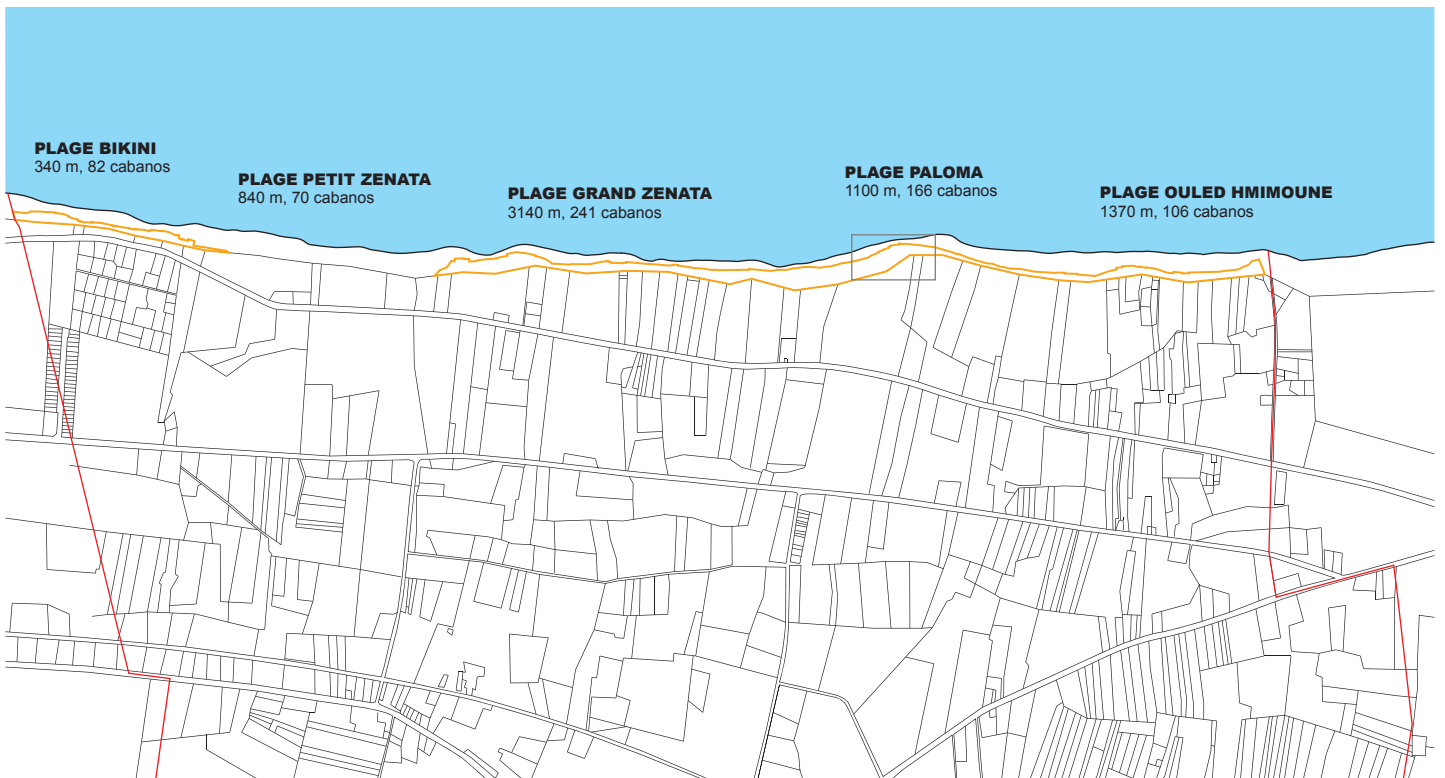
### *The Creep Up Game*

*One player stands against a wall facing his back to the other people and counts up to five. Meanwhile the players are trying to creep up to the person him as fast as possible. When the person against the wall turns around then everyone has to freeze and if anyone is caught moving they are out of the game. The first player who advances to the wall without being seen moving wins.*



The Planning Committee sets a common standard  
The Pascha allows to expand the standard  
The AUC limits the expansion of the standard.

Zenata Allotment plan and vacation house limitation line



Extract from "Delimination du Domaine Maritime, Ain Harrouda Planning Committee

## Abuse as an Urban Planning Tool

The Planning Committee is well aware of the Progression Anarchique. Instead of trying to clean up all illegal activities and thereby creating clear conditions, the authority engages in a kind of game with the leaseholders, allowing illegal construction in most situation but taking drastic measures in others.

The house owner don't know exactly how far they can go and how long the situation will remain like this. Since officially almost all of the structures could be considered illegal there is absolutely no legal security for the leaseholders.

This allows the officials to abuse their power for their own benefit but at same time to control the Progression Anarchique by creating an aura of uncertainty and arbitrariness. It makes all investment in the own house a risk.

This is maybe the one factor that has kept the area from complete urbanization.

From this perspective it can be seen as a valuable strategy to keep the occupancy temporary in a situation where the government wants to reserve the ground for future development but has neither the means to develop it nor to keep it free.



Police Patrol in Grand Zenata parleying with the Guardian

## **Aïn Harouda : Votre cabanon brûle**

Saâd Setti ne sait plus quoi faire. Les choses se sont enchaînées d'une manière si rapide et inattendue qu'il lui arrive de dire qu'il s'agit peut-être d'un rêve. « Un cauchemar », rectifie son épouse. Tout a commencé le jour où la famille Setti a appris, par pur hasard, que son cabanon a été incendié et complètement saccagé. Situé à la plage des « Petites Zenata », à Casablanca, ce cabanon est sujet de polémique entre Saâd Setti et son nouveau « propriétaire », Mustapha Bakdir.

Depuis 1972, la famille Setti passait ses vacances estivales dans cette maisonnette, suite à une autorisation d'occupation temporaire accordée par la commune d'Aïn Harouda, moyennant un loyer annuel de près de 1.700 dirhams. « À notre grande surprise, un voisin nous a appris que notre cabanon a été presque détruit par un incendie. Nous n'avons appris la mauvaise nouvelle qu'une semaine après l'incident, c'est-à-dire, fin avril », précise Saâd Setti. Que le propriétaire ne soit pas avisé par la Commune d'Aïn Harouda de l'incendie est le fait qui lui a mis la puce à l'oreille. En arrivant sur les lieux, les Setti sont restés ébahis: non seulement la maisonnette est incendiée, mais elle est également pillée.

« Contrairement aux autres, notre cabanon a été bien équipé et ce tout au long de l'année, note Saâd Setti. Nous sommes restés abasourdis en ne découvrant aucune trace de l'ensemble du mobilier, de l'électroménager... On a même pillé les ustensiles de cuisine ! l'équipement de notre cabanon est estimé à plus de 50.000 dirhams ».

Prenant son mal en patience, Saâd Setti est parti chercher une autorisation de reconstruction auprès de la commune d'Aïn Harouda.

Et c'est là où les choses ont commencé à se corser. À la commune, on refuse sa demande et on lui apprend que le cabanon ne lui appartient plus. L'information est tombée comme un couperet sur la tête de Saâd Setti qui n'en revenait pas. Abdellatif Jirari, le président de cette commune, a procédé à l'expropriation de Saad Setti le 3 mars 2005, en se basant sur le fait que le cabanon n°12 est abandonné. « C'est à ce moment-là que j'ai compris ce jeu machiavélique d'incendie et de pillage savamment orchestré par Abdellatif Jirari et Mustapha Bakdir qui se dit le nouveau propriétaire », déclare-t-il. Et d'ajouter que « le président de la commune a donné le droit à Mustapha Bakdir, gendarme à la retraite, d'occuper et de rénover le cabanon, le 10 mars 2005 ».

Saâd Setti est allé encore plus loin en affirmant que Abdellatif Jirari avait « offert » le cabanon n°47 à Mustapha Bakdir, mais ce dernier avait été repoussé violemment par son vrai propriétaire : « Suite à ce mauvais traitement, Mustapha Bakdir a fini par jeter son dévolu sur le nôtre. C'est ainsi qu'il a adressé à la commune d'Aïn Harouda une lettre de désistement datée du 9 mars 2005. Le lendemain, le 10 mars, Abdellatif Jirari lui a offert mon cabanon ».

Ex-PND devenu RNI, le président de cette commune a été contacté à plusieurs reprises par ALM, mais en vain. Apparemment, il n'était pas dans son bureau. Le secrétariat d'Abdellatif Jirari assure qu'il est trop occupé et que malgré ses trois téléphones portables, il reste injoignable. Un autre cabanon qui brûle peut-être ?

Aujourd'hui Le Maroc, le 13-5-2005

Par : Atika Haimoud

## The Hidden Order

## The Actors involved

### The locals

People who live in the area permanently. Almost all of them live in bidonvilles or other illegal settlements.

Many of them also work in the area, providing various services to the people staying in the vacation houses (Guardian, Mason, Servant). Some of them live as Fisherman, selling the fish locally. It is not uncommon to follow several of the above mentioned occupations.

### The leisure people

People coming from Casablanca (mostly from the eastern neighborhoods) to use the beach for sport and recreation activities. This can be seen mostly on the weekends.

### The house owners

People owning a vacation house in the area. Most of them come from Casablanca or Rabat, some from other Moroccan cities or Europe. They usually come on the weekends or in the vacations. Some (around one third) have started to live in their vacation houses permanently.

The locals



The leisure people



The lodgers



The house owners

### **The lodgers**

People, mostly from Casablanca, renting a vacation house for several days or month. This is common because those house owners, who live far away (especially those living in Europe) only use the houses in the two months of summer vacation in July and August.

Many lodgers are young men who escaped the intimacy of the city to spend some time with their girlfriends or drinking with buddies in anonymity.

## **Operations**

### **A How to rent a lot**

- 1 Reach an unofficial agreement with the Pascha (promise)
- 2 Wait for a lot to become vacant (can take several years)
- 3 File an official application with the Planning Committee
- 4 Sign the contract (can be done at the same time as 3)
- 5 Pay a yearly rent of 550 Dh/ 100 m<sup>2</sup>

### **B How to build a house**

- 1 File an application to renovate whatever is on your lot  
(If nothing is on your lot ask the Pascha for advice)
- 2 Destroy what is on your lot and not useful
- 3 Contact a mason (the mason is known in the area)
- 4 Give the mason money (around 300'000 Dh) and he will recruit a workforce (around 3 or 4 local men), buy the building material and construct your house

### **C How to buy a house**

- 1 Find a person that is willing to sell its house
- 2 Pay around 4'000'000 Dh for a medium house
- 3 Pay a yearly rent of 550 Dh/ 100 m<sup>2</sup>

### **D How to rent a house**

- 1 Find a person that owns a house and doesn't use it all around the year (word of mouth)
- 2 Pay a monthly rent of around 2500 Dh in winter respectively 7000 Dh in summer

(The rent paid to the government is far bellow market price. It can be assumed that there's another flow of money going directly to the functionaries of the administration.)

(The large gap between the value of the house and the price paid for it indicates that the money is not paid for the house but for the position in this commercial network. Comparing the rent paid to the government and the rent received from lodgers, we can see that this houses can be lucrative businesses.)

## Functional and Spacial Network

In Zenata two main network of services can be found. One serves the local population, the other serves visitors or people passing by on the regional route.

The public infrastructure (streets, beach) is used by both. Generally, the two groups also represent two social classes. Even though their standard of living is very different, they live very close to each other and have many points of contact.

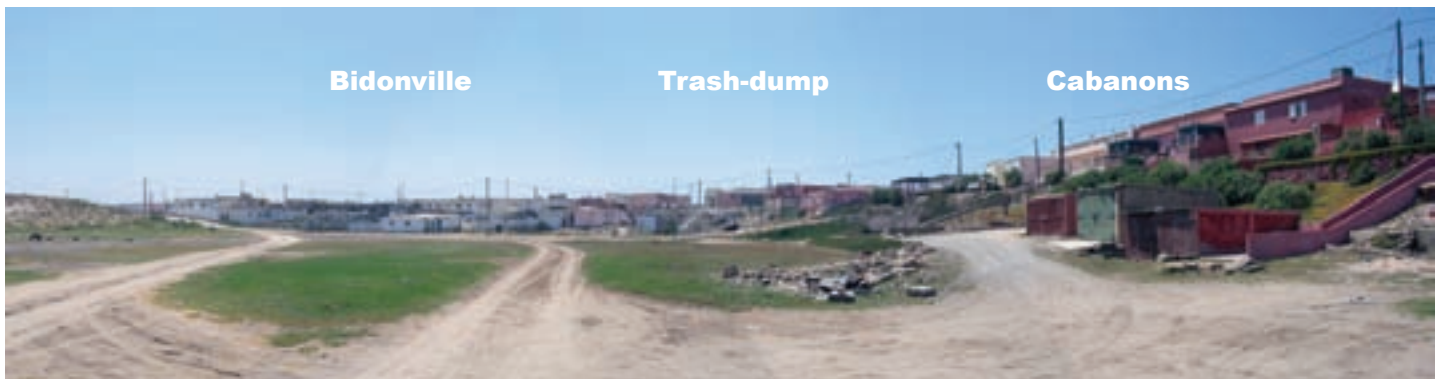
The locals supply goods (mainly fish) and workforce to the house owners and other visitors. Sometimes the house owners frequent the local cafes. Locals and people who visit the beach for leisure purposes use the vacation houses (the patios) as shelter when the owners are absent.

The distinction between the two groups is sharper in the recent development in the west but becomes blurred in the older parts, where a large section of vacation houses are inhabited permanently. This can be seen both on a social and physical scale. The houses in the older part are smaller and they form clusters similar to the bidonvilles. The house owners in this area are difficult to distinguish from the inhabitants of the bidonville. This forms a contrast to the less-dense new part, where the social gap between house owners and locals is very obvious.



Function Zones





Panorama

## House 1:

He is a retired functionary of the Ministry of Interior.  
He lives in the Anfa area of Casablanca (villa).

### **Why did you buy this house if you already have a beautiful house in Anfa?**

*Because I can afford it. Why should I not buy it? In every country there's rich and poor people. It's the same here.*

He bought the house from a friend six years ago for 1'000'000 Dh. He claims the house is 20 years old but it is not on the map of 1989. He had an architect renovate it.

### **Do you have any relationship with your neighbors?**

*We have an association here, the "Société de Grand Zenata". We meet every once in a while to discuss the problems at hand. We also pay some people to clean the beach and watch our house while we're absent. Only fine people live here, famous personalities, a beauty doctor, an industrial, a general over there. It's different in other parts but here, we are only decent people.*

He uses the house during the summer vacations in July and August, the spring vacation in May and on the weekends. He doesn't rent it out to other people.

### **The land your house is on is only rented. Are you afraid to loose your house?**

*I heard, when they will build the new town, we can buy the land from the community. They will also build streets here and a park. Anyway nothing will happen soon. There's a fight between the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Maritime Affairs over the land. Until they found a solution nothing will happen.*



## House 2:

He (and his four brothers) work in Italy for six month of the year as street vendors. His family lives in Sidi Bernoussi (apartment).

### **Why did you buy this house?**

*I work hard in Italy. When I'm back home I want to live like a king. Being here with my family is what I look forward too when I work. I like opening the door in the morning and look out over the ocean.*

He bought the house from acquaintance for 4'000'000 Dh . The house is more than 25 years old. He renovated it with the help of a mason.

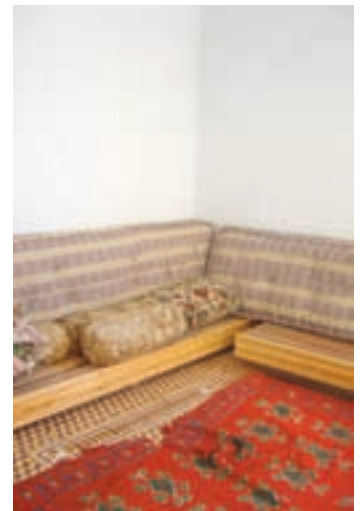
### **Do you have any relationship with your neighbors?**

*Of course. I often see them on the weekend. We run into each other in the street or on the beach. Yes , I know most people here but everybody comes here to relax, to have his peace. We don't get involved in each others business.*

He lives here almost all the time when he is not in Italy. While he's in Italy he rents it out to other people.

### **The land your house is on is only rented. Are you afraid to loose your house?**

*No, it's a good house and cheap to rent. Nothing will change. I know they want to develop this place for the tourists. They've been talking about this for a long time but nothing will happen. In the end everything remains as it is.*





# Appendix- The Masons

The informal construction process is a very simple process. Everything needed is building material and a person that knows how to build a house (has done it before).

Knowledge of construction can mean a secure income, therefore it is preserved. This leads to what can be called an informal construction culture.

According to a national survey conducted in 1999-2000, informal economy contributes 20% to Morocco's employment, through independent activities, bringing 24% of households' income.

It also makes 94 billion Dh (US\$ 10.4 billion) to Morocco's national production, with 63.8 billions of added values. The informal sector also accounts for 15% of national supply and 17% of the GDP.

According to the same survey, there are 1,233,300 informal units in the kingdom.

We introduce a team of informal architects and their work.

## Appendix- The Masons **The Masons**

Readdad Dernaoui (left) had worked as a construction worker in Casablanca for 6 years.

Mustapha Khaddoumi (right) had worked as a construction worker in Spain for 14 years.

Together they have built around 60 cabanons in the Zenata area of Aïn Harrouda since 1978. The construction of one house takes them around 8 month. They only work on one house at the time.

They live in the nearby Bidonville Aïn Hamanda and work exclusively in this area. Once they constructed the house, they will maintain it for unlimited time.

### **Design Philosophy**

All the houses are designed in a similar manor:

Step 1: The walls of the house follow the outline of the lot

Step 2: The inside is filled with rooms, according to the clients wishes

Step 3: Ornamentation is made after the masons fancy. Considered are the wishes of the client and the availability of the construction elements

Step 1



Step 2



Step 3



The Masons



# Appendix- The Masons

Dealing with the topography







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ArabNews.com, July 1, 2004: Premier calls for action plan to fight informal economy.

La Vie éco, October 22, 2004: La première ville-satellite de Casa voit le jour.

La Gazette du Maroc, October 4, 2004: Faux, usurpation et escroquerie

## Online Resources

General:

<http://www.casablanca.ma/>

<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/print/mo.html>

Geology and geomorphology:

[http://www.iao.florence.it/training/remotesensing/BenSli-mané/Marocco21\\_3\\_2\\_G.htm](http://www.iao.florence.it/training/remotesensing/BenSli-mané/Marocco21_3_2_G.htm)

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<http://www.merip.org/mer/mer218/mer218.html>

<http://www.nidi.knaw.nl/web/html/pushpull/dest/indexdest.html>

<http://opendemocracy.net/debates/article-2-103-1919.jsp>

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[http://www.g26.ch/marokko\\_news\\_0428.html](http://www.g26.ch/marokko_news_0428.html)

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<http://www.archipress.org/these/casablanca.htm>

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