

The spatial and functional dimensions of the urban policy in the internal urban margins of the city of Casablanca : The case of Sidi Moumen district

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ABSTRACT: The Sidi Moumen district of Casablanca, which is considered here in its social, functional and spatial dimensions, is an unacceptable standard in the face of Casablanca's will to modernize. The practices and data of marginalization have historically built its symbolic pocket, Socially and contrary to the hierarchical and holistic notion of marginalization, the province is home to a diverse population ranging from the poorest to the middle classes. Contrary to the prevailing notion that this area is isolated or isolated and characterized by anomalies, it provides resources at the city-wide scale. In order to understand this issue the effectiveness of this intervention in solving the housing crisis in Casablanca in general and in the district of Sidi Moumen in particular and the forms of spatial configuration in this sector of the city, the extent of effectiveness of this form of management and its functional and spatial dimensions in the organization of the urban area of the city Casablanca, by reference to the previous management experiences of the urban area of Casablanca and the analysis of the territorial policy of the Sidi Moumen district. This raises the problem that we will try to answer, which relates to the inputs and outputs of the territorial policy in Sidi Moumen, including Casablanca. And the limits of this policy? Based on an analytical descriptive approach to examine the parameters of this policy and its description, and the staff of critical approach to relate the subject to its general context and to analyze the reality of the land policy in the interior urban marginal areas and the requirements of justice.

KEYWORDS: Land policy ; re-housing ; urban margin ; urban deficit; Urban development; Spatial-social justice.

1 INTRODUCTION

The cities of the south suffer from many problems related to the great urban growth, accompanied by a quantum leap in the area of housing quantitatively and qualitatively, which led to the emergence of the phenomenon of Interpol or the giant cities such as the Casablanca in Morocco, whose population exceeded 3.000.000 people. The emergence of inappropriate forms of housing especially for the urban outskirts of the city. A new urban problem has emerged in the urban area, which is mainly related to the optimal management of this area, namely the problem of housing large categories of urban residents in decent housing with the necessary conditions for housing where the scenes of fragility and exclusion. The province of Sidi Moumen is part of the urban area of the city of Casablanca. It is located in the south-east of the Metropole. It is bordered by administrative borders with Sidi Ben Bernoussi and Ain el Sabe'a on the north. It is bordered by the south of Moulay Rachid and to the east by the Tit Melil group. Al - Mohammedi neighborhood.

This province constitutes an area of popular habitation. From 2003, it was an area of first-class inadequate housing, the year of "terrorist" events that the city of Oval in this history has known. This has provoked an urgent intervention with the issue of inadequate housing in the city in general. The field in particular, and an administrative measure for the whole field of Casablanca to achieve the principle of justice in terms of collective equipment. The district discussed here is both social, functional, and spatial. It is considered an unacceptable criterion in the face of the will of the modern city of Casablanca. The practices and data on marginalization have historically built their symbolic pocket. The province is home to a diverse population ranging from the poorest to the middle classes. Contrary to the prevailing notion that this area is isolated or marginalized and characterized by anomalies, it provides resources at the city-wide scale.

To this end, we have decided to address the issue in this area in order to understand the effectiveness of this intervention in solving the housing crisis in Casablanca in general and the Sidi Moumen province in particular and the forms of spatial

configuration in this sector of the city, namely the effectiveness of this measure and its functional and spatial dimensions in organizing the urban area of the city of Casablanca; In reference to the previous management experience of the urban area of Casablanca and the analysis of the territorial policy of the Sidi Moumen district.

2 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMING

2.1 PROBLEMATIC STUDY

The problems of urbanization occupy an important place in academic studies, especially with the great needs of the urban population. The first of these needs is access to housing. This need is distinguished from multiple dimensions and effective urban planning, which is manifested through the development and rational organization of the field. Since the colonial period, Morocco has known the problem of resettlement but is in line with the colonialist approach of discrimination between Moroccans and Europeans with the architect "Henri Prost". With the independence of the country, the model of Michel Ecochard continued in 1954, «Michel Pinsceau» in 1983, which did not change the policy of urban planning of the city of Casablanca, and with the beginning of 2008 was approved the new Master plan of urban planning to guide the urbanization set by the Urban Agency of Casablanca and French Institute of Studies, which marked the outline of a new plan in the field, In order to respond to the urgent requirements imposed by the economic and social situation of the city and the colonial heritage; many urban processes have appeared in the internal urban margins in general and in the province of Sidi Moumen in particular, and mechanisms have been put in place to implement them and accelerate the response to their inhabitants "Urbanization Group" and "Incorporating Housing" ...

Thus, the general problem revolves around the following question:

- To what extent has the State's policy of internal urban margins resolved the housing crisis in Sidi Moumen district and the achievement of social efficiency and social justice?
- What is the status of collective equipment in the province? Has the State strategy in this area achieved the objectives expected of it?

2.2 THE IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

The importance of this study lies in the characteristics of the urban policy of Morocco in general and the city of Casablanca in particular and the Sidi Moumen district in particular. This policy is a continuation of what has been drawn since the colonial period, where the spatial differentiation within the city and the dumping of peripheral urban areas with new problems to achieve the Casablanca Center radiation globally , In addition to the weakness of the measure in which the collective organization is floundering and the continuation of the guardianship of the Ministry of the Interior and weak coordination, which weakens the level of development in these areas.

2.3 SELECTION OF THE FIELD OF STUDY

The choice of the province of Sidi Moumen was not an arbitrary choice, but its wisdom is an objective reason related to the development of urban policy in the urban area of Casablanca since the city's first urban planning period of protection in 1917. It opened the city to the private sector and the oval city became a symbol of "free urbanization"¹ With a capitalist character², characterized by inequality and exclusion of large segments of the population living on public aid.

2.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The general objective of this study is to identify the urban policy of the marginal urban districts of Casablanca and their contribution to local development in Sidi Moumen district as a model for this study to highlight the importance of urban planning in achieving local development in general and in fragile areas in particular.

¹ - Dethier. J(1970) : 60 ans d'urbanisme au Maroc. L'évolution des idées et des réalisations. B.E.S.M. n° 118- 119, p : 16

²-شويكي المصطفى (1996): الدار البيضاء مقارنة سوسيو مجالية ، جامعة الحسن الثاني- عين الشق كلية الآداب و العلوم الإنسانية الدار البيضاء. سلسلة الأطروحات والرسائل- الطبعة الأولى. ص:42

3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMING OF THE STUDY

The subject of the urban phenomenon and exploring its surroundings in the city of Casablanca reveals an internal principle that does not exempt the researcher from trying to create a conceptual apparatus capable of clarifying the study project and deepening the debate on the problems posed by the urban field. On a strategy adopted by the state to combat inappropriate housing and improve the quality of urban fabric of the city, and this policy is in two forms:

- Re-housing in the neighborhoods of self-construction: where the allocation of ground units for the beneficiaries of the process to cost the latter to build its housing, and comes a second phase associated with the processing of the neighborhood, and then developed the last phase since 2007 since the process of fragmentation and processing is provided by the Urbanization Group.
- Re-housing in apartments: This process has become characteristic of the urban fabric of large cities due to high property prices and shrinking of bare land. The population of this type of housing is often associated with housing policy to pay for the apartment.

In the context of the optimal management of the land areas and the development of governance mechanisms "in the direction of exclusion of the approach of discrimination and selection of the galaxy to calculate the balance of odds approach to the various territorial and demographic units"³, the Authority adopted a new concept of approaches in the formation and management of the urban area under the terms of "The city's policy, "and they are quotations from the French school. Despite this approach, it is the culmination of the victory of" geographers who have managed to penetrate the public policy sphere with a term they have adopted without others"⁴.

The policy of land or city policy as a concept raises a number of problems related to the definition of this policy, and determine the scope of application, and the role of the state and local communities, and the issues that relate to them. This is not only in terms of language (the connection of the concept of politics to the concept of the city), but in practice. This policy usually takes several meanings and is linked to approaches, functions or competencies that may meet or clash with one another.

Thus, the city's policy in Morocco may also benefit:

- State policy in the economic, social and cultural fields at the urban level (without the rural area), thus synonymous with "urban policy";
- Sectoral policy pursued by a specific ministry, the "Ministry of Housing and Construction..." means the package of measures, institutions and programs applied by this ministry in cities;
- Local politics conducted by local communities at the city level within existing laws (the degree of decentralization);
- Policies pursued by the external or sectoral interests of each city, within the degree of decentralization followed in the areas of education, employment, security, health, culture and transport...;
- National policies or programs of interest to cities such as the National Initiative for Human Development, the Urban Rehabilitation Program, the Cities Without Slums Program, the Waste Collection and Wastewater Treatment Program...

This is in addition to the social policies carried out by a number of ministries or institutions such as the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Agency for Social Development, the regional development agencies (in the north and the south), the Mohammed V Foundation for Solidarity ..., All of which are in the social sphere⁵.

Thus, according to some of the jurisprudence and experience in a number of countries of the world, the policy of the city is "the policy pursued by public authorities to address the spatial and social imbalances of cities." It is about a partnership between the state (in different sectors), local communities, the private sector and civil society on specific projects, which is a kind of social contract for the benefit of the population and the affected areas of the city.

This states that the policy of the city is dirt and voluntary and general:

³ - المودني عبد اللطيف (2013): الديناميات المحلية وحكومة الدولة. أفريقيا الشرق، الدار البيضاء ص: 6
⁴ - أجلاب رشيد (2011): التنمية الترابية وآفاق التدبير الترابي بالمغرب. مجلة جغرافية المغرب- مجلة إلكترونية ص: 1
⁵ - بهبوط محمد (2012): سياسة المدينة في المغرب - وزارة السكنى والتعمير وسياسة المدينة- المنتديات الجهوية - الحوار الوطني: سياسة المدينة. أبريل - ماي 2012 ص: 4-5

- Terrestrial: in the sense that it brings together a number of actors (state, local communities, sectoral interests, private sector, civil society associations) to work in a specific land area.
- Voluntary: in the sense that it is embodied in physical and human means provided by the State and its partners directly to a particular land and population, in the form of specific "programs", in addition to sectoral programs.
- General: that it responds to a pattern of public intervention within the framework of a specific strategy to integrate the affected land areas, within the framework of a comprehensive policy for the preparation of regional and national soil⁶.

What are the objectives of this policy?

In the last 30 years, the city's policy has emerged as a political reaction to the intensification of urban problems in a number of Western countries (especially with the emergence of marginal problems). It has been forced to think about developing special programs to address these problems. It has been given various names such as: "Social City", "Social Development Decade for Neighborhoods", "City Quality Charter", "Urban Renewal", "Local Agenda 21", "Local housing scheme", "city policy" and the like. However, regardless of the designations, the most important goals set by most of the countries concerned for these programs are:

- Mitigating or eliminating perverse imbalances (the difference between rich and poor neighborhoods and fighting the cantons), with a view to achieving some urban harmony between the city's areas⁷;
- Providing the affected areas with infrastructure and infrastructure in the fields of: land administration, education, culture and arts, reconstruction and housing, health, environment, recreation...
- Supporting the economic development of the affected areas by creating job opportunities, encouraging training and initiative and transforming these areas from economically weak margins into economic zones that contribute to local development;
- Achieving social harmony by integrating marginalized areas and groups (unemployed, youth, women, the disabled, the elderly, and the poor) into the existing urban fabric;
- Democracy and governance, extending the circle of political participation (local communities, the private sector, civil society associations ...), improving the management of water and human resources and building local capacities; • Improve the image and attractiveness of these areas, by renewing their urban fabric, improving their living environment, ensuring security and combating drug and violence phenomena⁸.

Urban development: Urban development can be defined as a "balanced, cumulative and permanent increase over a defined period of time in various aspects of life in accordance with pre-defined plans and programs of different levels (national, regional, local) Or new"⁹. In other words, urban development can be described as moving a society from an existing situation with many negatives into a more advanced situation, in which the urban dimension reflects the features of this more advanced situation within the context of what can be exploited by society's potential assets and potentials, , Through the development of programs compatible with the members of the community and specific goals and times and formulated very carefully meet the aspirations and hopes of this community.

The urban margin: Although the use of the concept of margin is common, it is not clear, so the acceptance of definitions transferred from the literature should be bypassed in the topic that combines the concept of margins and parties on the one hand and those linking it to exclusion on the other.

The concept should therefore be approached in a critical way with these two broad and social approaches in order to verify the hypothesis of departure to justify the choice of the field of research, where the urban margins constitute distinct areas of domain and development policy and their effects.

⁶ - بهضوض محمد(2012): نفس المصدر: ص 5

⁷- Aneflouss Mohamed (2012) : *Développement territorial et politique de la Ville, quels enjeux ?- Ministère de l'Habitat, de l'Urbanisme et de la Politique de la ville- Concertation Nationale POLITIQUE DE LA VILLE , Avril-Mai 2012. p.p. 3-4*

⁸- Aneflouss Mohamed (2012) : *ibid, p 7*

⁹ مصطفي منير محمود(2012): توجيه التنمية العمرانية بالمراكز الحضرية الكبرى للحد من ضغوط الاستثمار- مؤتمر تخطيط وإدارة النمو العمراني و ضغوط الاستثمار في المدن العربية الكبرى - القاهرة 19-21 فبراير 2012 . ص 4

At the spatial level, the concept of urban margin is the idea of urbanization that is not finished, as the expansion of the city on its margins produces instability in the urban borders. From this consideration, the term "urban margins"¹⁰ becomes a small area known as expansion and expansion without specific features.

Based on this qualitative approach, the concept of urban margin relates to a classical sense of degraded urban continuity and as a continuum. This meaning is often negative. It is marginal not only in its urban location, but also in its morphological characteristics compared to the urban criterion in this area.

This dimension emerges when analyzing the urban deficit, especially when the negative consequences of voluntary marginalization and the position of power are observed. This is what makes the process of economic marginalization marginalizing the marginalization as an area of exclusion.

Urban Deficit: This concept allows for a comprehensive approach to reality. When we speak of a state of inadequacy, we evaluate it in its comprehensiveness, that is, we diagnose and assess the reality at the quantitative and qualitative level. Despite the comprehensiveness of the concept, it refers to specific issues such as the fragility of urban governance; and does not stand within the limits of assessment of the situation in its real dimensions, but affects all matters related to the management and determines the responsibilities and problems associated with this measure and its results¹¹.

4 CASABLANCA: CITY OF URBAN EXPERIMENTS

The city of Casablanca was the center of the urban fabric, which was established with the colonial phase at the Atlantic axis, and has since become the economic capital of Morocco and its population, has multiplied by five times since independence. According to the 2014 census, 363,106 people were counted, of which 294,980 people lived within the urban orbit of the city, 73,683 people in the province of Madiouna, and 24,192 inhabitants of Muhammadiyah and 60,089 inhabitants¹² of al-Nawasar. However, the spatial distribution of the population highlights the importance of urban margins compared to the center and the semi-central areas. The urbanization of the city as a whole and the level of the urban margins; the urban growth that characterizes the urban margins is the result of the great spatial expansion of the city during the 20th century (figure 1 & 2 of the development of the population growth rate in Casablanca). These urban areas, known as the urban explosion, are the result of the expansion of their land borders and their opening to reconstruction to accommodate large numbers of the population. The population growth rate was between 3.1 and 7.6 years in 2004 and between 2.1 and 4.6 years 2014.

However, with the advent of colonialism, the city was known for structural changes. The traditional and qualitative structure of the Moroccan city was characterized by the existence of a city within the fence, with its own gardens and areas for practicing trade. The first decades of the 20th century saw the emergence of the first neighborhoods that encouraged real estate speculation without prior notice. The migration process has intensified during this period, especially since the 1930s, and the European neighborhoods (Essokhour Essaouda, Lagirond, Borgon), and new neighborhoods of the villas (Anfa, Palmier, Mers Sultan, Eloasis) In the meantime, the urban margin of the city during this period included the first slums of the east and south with the accumulation of rural population. This situation continued until the 1940s for the large increase in tin and the important prominence of Moroccan neighborhoods¹³.

The first turning point in the history of reconstruction in Casablanca can be seen in the design of "Michel Ecochard" 1955, which laid the first rules for the formation of the casablanca margin to the south-east and south-west. This design suggested the concept of "coastal linear city", which was in line with the linear expansion of housing and the green belt between Casablanca and Muhammadiyah. It also suggested a group of neighborhoods located at the part of the urban motorway (Sidi Othman, Ain chock, Kareemat), as well as the districts of Al-oasis, Beausejour and Ain Diab. It appears that the coordinates are centered with a decreasing intensity from center to margin¹⁴.

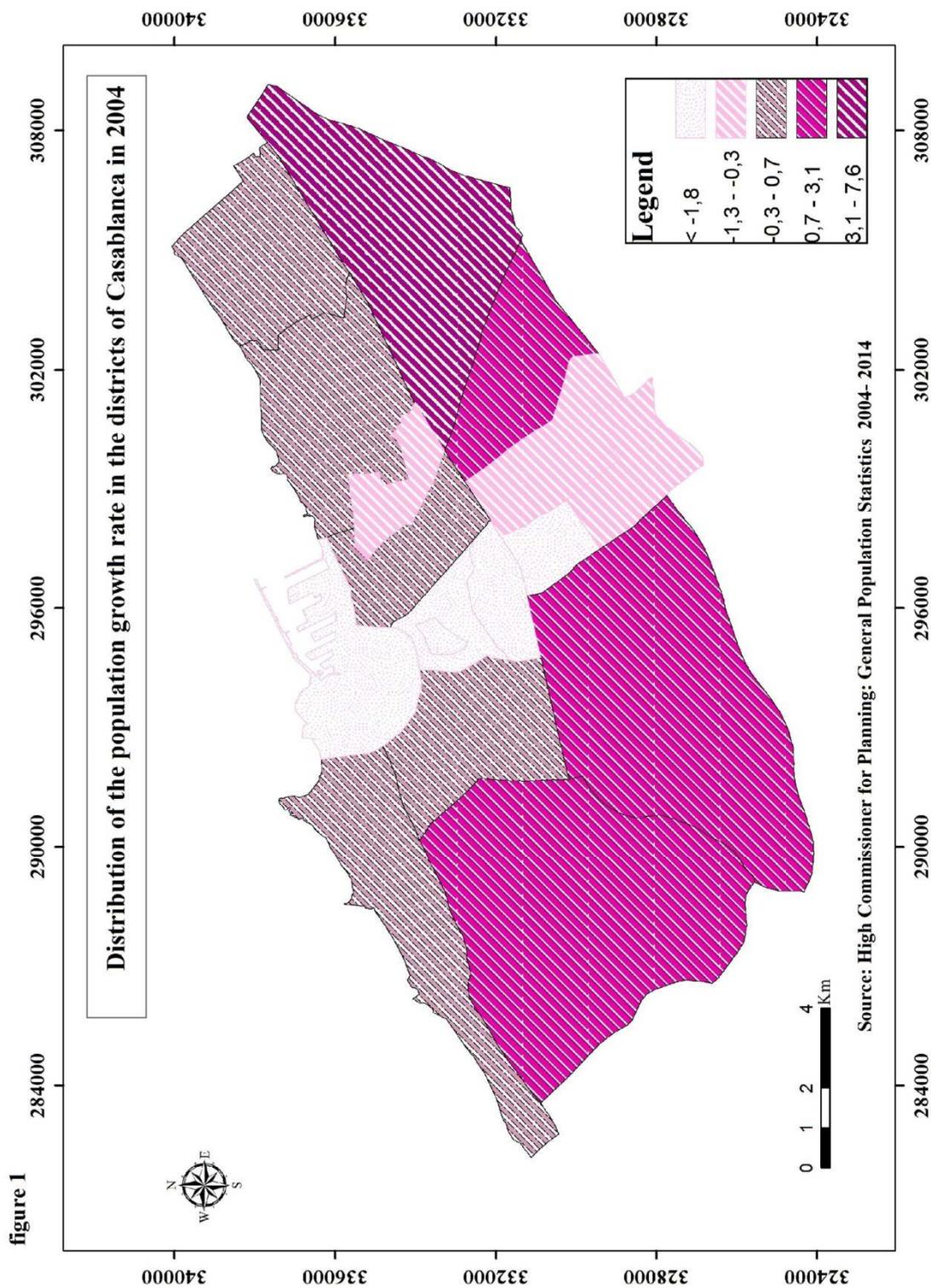
¹⁰- Dumont Marc, Hellier Emmanuelle (dir.2010) : *Les nouvelles périphéries urbaines*. Presses Universitaires de Rennes. P13

¹¹- Chouiki Mustapha (2012) : *Le Maroc face au défi urbain quelle politique de la ville ?* Editeur : Dar Attaouhidi. P 13

¹²- المندوبية السامية للتخطيط (المديرية الجهوية للدار البيضاء الكبرى) النشرة الإحصائية 2011

¹³- Nachoui Mustafa (1998) : *Casablanca –Espace et Société – Genèse et mutations de l'espace urbain de Casablanca*. Publications de la Revue Espace Géographique et Société Marocaine. p 41

¹⁴- توكي محمد (2014) : *تطور التعمير بمدينة الدار البيضاء (من 1907 إلى 2007)*. ط 1 ص 79-80
توكي محمد: نفس المرجع. ص 80



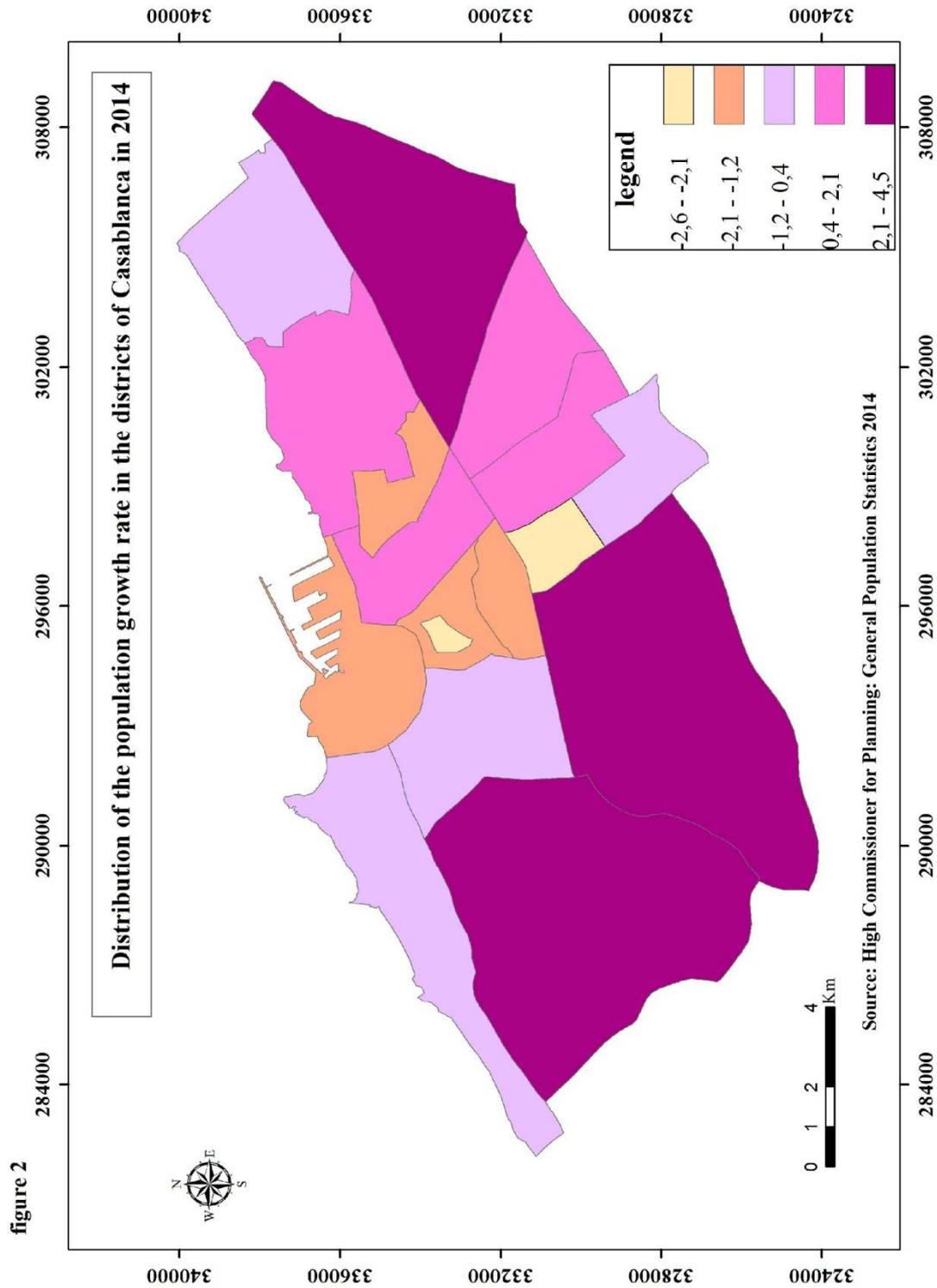


figure 2

In order to improve the housing conditions of needy groups, Ecochard incorporated the concept of the neighborhood unit (from 30,000 to 40,000 inhabitants) and the 8 × 8 housing category¹⁵. Thus, entire neighborhoods of the city developed according to these principles such as Al-Hassani, Al-Mohammadi, Ain chock and Sidi Othman. Except for copies of these architectural forms developed by Ecochard but less than 48 m² and that many of the programs of housing reconstruction or

¹⁵- Nachoui Mustafa : op.cit .p 55-

housing in the apartments for the tin population in the south-eastern margins emerged in the context of socio-political expedient associated with the major urban uprisings in the country and in the Casablanca city in particular, From The colonial period¹⁶.

This period was characterized by an increase in the density of existing neighborhoods and the emergence of new neighborhoods in the margin. The process of this density was attributed to the decline in the per capita area of the population, from 46m² / hab in 1960 to 39m² / hab in 1982 according to the urban planning guidelines of 1984, which has reached 5.5%, and the increase in the scarcity of land intended for construction and the delay in the completion of infrastructure projects. All these factors contributed to encouraging the expansion of shanty and illegal construction and stimulating real estate speculation. In view of the marginal area, it has provided room for a number of re-housing operations for the slum dwellers during the 1960s, such as the Lalla Mariam district in southern Casablanca, and the same for marginal centers (Madiouna, Sidi Maarouf ...) the static housing in these centers was aimed at reducing migration to Casablanca.

In the wake of the events of 1981, the management of the marginal urban area has become subject to political and security process through administrative shredding and the settlement of the security services. The State has placed its hand on the marginal area¹⁷ through land operations to rehabilitate and overcome mistakes in the public sphere through expanding roads and settling public facilities, Major social housing operations aimed at eradicating large slums were completed, as tin was the most prominent feature of the city's urban strategy (recovery strategy and margin control).

The financial assistance provided by international donors USAID and BIRD (Banque Internationale pour la Reconstruction et le développement) has resulted in the completion of entire neighborhoods in the south of Casablanca such as Ain chock district, Sidi Othman, Lalla Maryam, during the eighties to solve the problems of tin in Casablanca, especially the most famous Carian Ben M'sik, which imposed the investment of several means since the period of Ecochard black point in the city, so the housing units that were completed in Casablanca during the period from 1982 to 1992 About 14668 Unit equivalent to 10% of the national total.

The urban planning scheme and the creation of the urban agency in 1984 were considered structural measures adopted by the state. However, this tool, which was designed to regulate the urbanization of the city by Michel Pinseau's French Studies Office, failed in its strategic forecasts: However, in fact, the city has expanded in all directions (radioconcentrique)¹⁸, with new margins, both those planned and those that have not yet been developed. So. This marginal development has emerged as a result of the economic and industrial change of the city through the resettlement of the industry (legal and illegal) and logistics, and this expansion has been linked to the spatial and systematic expansion of many centers in the city, In urban services and even in the enlargement of the spatial disparities between East and West. In this regard, four major administrative facilities were created (Ain Chock - Hay Al Hassani, Ben M'sik - Sidi Othman, Ain Al Saba'a - Hay Al Mohammadi and Muhammadiyah) The administrative organization of the city, but also in the dynamic Urban life around it.

As for the south and east, there is the emergence of some organized fragmentation of economic housing, especially the expansion of informal housing within the limits of the urban orbit, such as the Alharawin, Lamkansa. In addition, other structured equipment such as the Technopark in south-western Casablanca, the Center de la Expositions and "the parc des affaires" in Sidi Sidi, near the Technopark, which is currently an area identical to the level of business in Casablanca, have also been characterized.

However, the year 2004 is the stage of intensive social housing programs in the margins of the city, whether in the south or in the east or west of Casablanca. The rural area was the scene of this scattered reconstruction, which in most cases was in complete contradiction with the design designs. The inflation of the existing ones (Alharawin, Lamkansa).

At the same time, Casablanca has grown in its population by half a million during the last decade, an annual growth rate of 1.5%, which is identical with its natural growth rate. In addition, the Islamic net is almost non-existent; the influx and expulsion are equal; The overall increase is a rapid re-installation. The industry affects the movement from the traditional central neighborhoods to the margins, and internal migration (to rural communities) is of concern to hundreds of thousands of people. The result is a two-area structure, a dense urban area of 2,800,000 people on an area of 150km² a density of 19000hab / km², in circumstance over The years this region has moved from 17900 to 19300hab / km² and at the same time,

¹⁶- Rachik Abderrahmane (2002) : *Casablanca : l'urbanisme de l'urgence* . Imprimerie NAJAH ELJADIDA .Casablanca .p117

¹⁷- شويكي المصطفى (1996) : *الدار البيضاء -مقاربة سوسيو مجالية* .جامعة الحسن الثاني-عين الشق- كلية الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية -سلسلة الأطروحات والرسائل 1 . ص 85

¹⁸- شويكي المصطفى : *المرجع السابق* .ص85

the process of reducing the density of the area characterized by high density has tended 350,000 individuals from this area towards other areas of margins. In the face of these changes, Casablanca, like other metropolitan areas, has raised the challenge of responding to the needs of housing and equipment in the slums. The number of households involved in shanty reached more than 82,000 in 2005, adding to 58,000 households from illegal housing. In general, the marginal districts in the south-eastern part of Casablanca (Sidi Moumen, Ahl Laghlam)¹⁹ have been characterized by a larger settlement of shantytowns, while illegal housing has developed since the second half of the 1990s in the southern margin of the Bahrawis and the brokering²⁰ :

- Average annual growth rate stabilized at 0.8% in Casablanca with a negative figure in the central provinces, and the strongest gains are recorded in the marginal provinces: Sidi Moumen, Hay Al Hassani, Ain Chock, and Moulay Rachid
- Very strong growth in the Hraween and the broom around 12.6%.
- Disparities in public equipment in peripheral provinces: This situation is evident at all educational and health levels, or even socio-cultural equipment, especially in marginal districts, which are also connected to water, electricity, sanitation, schooling and illiteracy.

If it is recognized that the exercise of the collective councils of their competencies requires sufficient financial and human resources to know their assigned roles, it is also indisputable that their real and effective promotion is based mainly on the qualifications and capacities of their executive organs, which bear the burden of making many decisions that concern them. The public interest of the population, and thus the translation of the collective decisions into concrete facts according to the approach of the local government²¹. For a city such as the White House, there is an administrative hierarchy under which the local administration is subject to the control of the Ministry of the Interior under the authority of the governor. The mandate of the city council or the governor to sign agreements with the private institutions for the management of some of the services and services sectors. These provinces provide housing offers for the inhabitants and contribute to the spread of a significant part of the uninhabited buildings. Consequently, the marginal districts are located in the inferior status of the city council. However, their financial and management potential is far from being responsive to new needs, which poses a serious problem of governance in marginal provinces.

This is evidenced by the process of breeze in the south-west and the south-east partnership at the end of the eighties, where the National Company for Collective Training was assigned the task of creating the royal garrison in the city center and the liberation of the area covered by the preparations of the population through accommodation in apartments according to the criteria and conditions depending on the nature of exploitation, The southern margin of this process provided the necessary land to receive important regiments of the population with a modest social status and to provide the urban conditions for the population at a time when these provinces have difficulty solving the problem of disability of the The process of peace in Sidi Moumen has been linked to the reconstruction of the shantytowns in the region. This process has been linked to the re-housing of the slum dwellers in Sidi Moumen province through self-construction (80m²) from the bottom and three floors, In the province of Ain Chock and the northern Harawin district of Moulay Rachid. The randomization of the housing market became more selective in parallel with the decline in the labor market under the influence of the structural adjustment program since 1983, which allowed the city's population to move towards the margins And to encourage the growth of illegal housing²², which put the organs of power and collective management before the test of legal recognition of this type of housing, which characterized the history of reconstruction in Casablanca by restructuring by linking through the water, electricity, sanitation and mass transport network. Although the phenomenon of disability is spread over these residential areas, which reflects the influx of its inhabitants, the deficit of public educational and health facilities, mass transit, green spaces, roads and even link to the basic household equipment... This type of reconstruction is linked to the modest potential of the families concerned and the possibility of access to Residential property, which contributes to the spatial formation of poverty, exclusion and the atrophy of urban identity²³.

¹⁹ مجموعة التهيئة العمران 2008

²⁰ - المندوبية السامية للتخطيط (المديرية الجهوية للدار البيضاء الكبرى) النشرة الإحصائية 2011

²¹ لحرش كريم (2002): الميثاق الجماعي الجديد (نحو حكمة محلية لجماعة الغد). سلسلة الأمازيغية والإدارة التربوية. العدد 18 الطبعة 3. ص: 17

²²- Chouiki Mustapha : *L'informalité n'est-elle pas urbaine avant d'être économique ? Des illustrations d'une métropole du sud : Casablanca.* www.erudite.univ-paris-est.fr. P.15.p3

²³- Chouiki Mustapha ; op.cit .p.p 7-8

5 TERRITORIAL POLITICS AND SPATIAL SOCIAL JUSTICE REQUIREMENTS IN THE INTERNAL URBAN MARGINS OF CASABLANCA

5.1 HOUSING OF BROAD CATEGORIES OF POPULATION WITH INTERNAL URBAN MARGINS: A MARGINAL POLICY SINCE THE PERIOD OF PROTECTION

The historical analysis of urban policies in Casablanca seems to be necessary to understand the current sociocultural structure and to explain the discontinuities and continuity of these policies. With the great development that Casablanca has known since the 20th century, it has been accompanied by an important prominence of inadequate housing of all kinds. The aim of eliminating this phenomenon, as in the case of the new route in 1968 and in the 1980s in the years of the last century, or karian al-Sakawila and Tuma in Sidi Moumen since 2007, and the different forms of projects presented to combat and contain the phenomenon, On the poor housing and mainly slums, but the case of Casablanca is different from the situation of the rest of the Moroccan cities have known the housing crisis since the protection suffered by the local population and newcomers to the city.

At a time when the population density of the city has rapidly emerged, shantytowns have imposed on the authorities a policy of housing for the poor, as shown by the following table:

Table 1. Process Chronology and Devices Interested in Low Cost Housing in the Protection Period

Year	Processes and devices
1919	-Low cost housing committee
1928	-Regulation of mortgage loans and housing control
1937	-Regional funds for savings and loans of moroccan residents -Permanent commission for moroccan residents
1938	-Dahir prevents flat housing
1940	-Moroccan loan funds - Office Cherif for the residence of Moroccans
1942	-office cherif for the residence europeans
1944	-office cherif of habitat
1948	-Dahir to provide loans for the construction of housing for the benifit of Muslims
1950	-Establishment of the housing department
1951	-inter-professional housing committee in Morocco- Franco-Moroccan real estate company -Encourage private construction by interest profits on the construction of European housing
1955	-Establishment of the housing and Construction Department and its annexation to the Ministry of Public Works

Source : Cohen et Eleb, 1998 : *Historique du Département de l'Habitat*, <http://www.seh.gov.ma/>

The new colonial architect Echocar laid the groundwork for the new expansion of the oval city by integrating the new marginal neighborhoods, extending the expansion into Mohammedia, preserving the industrial zones in the east, housing the popular groups to the south (Sidi Othman) and the east (Sidi Bernoussi) The Center's leading activities and the prestigious neighborhoods of the West.

This residential history allows for the identification of certain forms of operational intervention that contributed to the growth of the internal urban margins of Casablanca through the granting of land plots for the re-housing of shantytowns or the restructuring of the secret underground housing and through economic housing.

The importance of this type of intervention is shown in that it does not cost the state financially, but at the margins of the city and thus in its spatial expansion, showing the role these processes play in the spatial dynamics. Quantitative implications are necessarily reflected in this type of intervention On the area where the empty space in favor of the building is diminished²⁴.

Relating to housing re-housing is another type of operation. It involves the relocation of families in prefabricated apartments. To the technical and financial aspects of these projects, this policy was closely related to the security situation of

²⁴ شويكي المصطفى (2003) : محاربة السكن غير اللائق بالدار البيضاء: أية حصة؟ أشغال يوم دراسي حول السكن غير اللائق في 28 ماي 2003 منشورات الاتحاد الجغرافي المغربي ، فرع الدار البيضاء. عين الشق. ص.ص.67-83

Casablanca, whose internal urban margins were opened to a special reconstruction called by the late Abderrahman Rachik for emergency reconstruction.

In light of this urgent situation, the state hastened to spread the symbols of sovereignty in the urban margin through the establishment of new occupations in these areas. Thus, this reconstruction was the main engine of the urban processes with margins, which leads us to ask: Is it a real policy of social housing in Casablanca, especially with the involvement of the private sector?

In addition to the lack of control, large urban blocks have been built in the inner urban margins and have become conditions for them to become self-sustaining neighborhoods such as Sidi al-Khaydir (8123 families) in the district of Hay al-Hassani or Dwawir al-Harawein al-Shamaliya (4000 families) belonging to the district of Moulay Rasheed or the dilapidated (5000 families) of the province of Ain chock. These neighborhoods were imposed on the public authorities to be restructured, Urban system through the processing of infrastructure and modification of designs. This urban policy contributes to the creation of a new reality that is difficult to ignore in the future, especially as it inaugurates a reconstruction based on a series of disparate, unconnected or coherent divisions that will be difficult to integrate into urban functional units and in interaction with the various components of the city.

The urban history of the Casablanca City will reveal the situation that characterizes these areas by defining the societal model that the state has sought to program since the colonial stage. This has put the internal urban margin of Casablanca in the great problems of various forms between the social and urban content and reflections these problems on the needs of the static at the level of public collective equipment. The marginal urban districts subject to study are in a situation of privatization in terms of public equipment for a number of factors, most notably:

- Lack of programming of public equipment, although the expansion of the direction was expected, and even among the directions of the city's dirt policy.
- Many social housing workshops have been opened under a 200,000 housing program in these marginal urban districts. And allow the real estate developers to build an additional floor that is contrary to the directives of the designs of the collective configuration; and this leads to attracting more residents and the pressure on the assured public equipment available;

In addition to the type of social groups resident, and the urgent need for various types of public equipment, especially of local importance.

5.2 HOUSING PROGRAMS IN SIDI MOUMEN PROVINCE: CENTER FOR SPATIAL REHABILITATION OF LAND POLICY

The province of Sidi Moumen expresses the contradictions in the field. There are large differences in the urban landscape. This situation is due to the nature of this marginal area. It is inhabited by a group of dawwers that have expanded the problem of a fertile area for slum dwellers. The first phenomenon since the fifties of the twentieth century as a result of the creation of industrial units in the province of Ain Sba'a, and thus the phenomenon of tin in the province of Sidi Moumen has been associated with the movement of industrialization in the region where it was created by workers whose economic conditions did not allow them to buy or buy decent housing, The districts in the province occupied an important area of 85 hectares within the urban fabric of the province. Some of these neighborhoods also extended to an important area such as the Rahamna and Tuma, Grand Casablanca Community.

In the context of globalization, the dominant players in urban politics in Casablanca have a strong desire to secure the Casablanca city of the global economy and make it attractive to investment and investors. Like other cities, public authorities in the Casablanca City carry out a daring urban process, Urbanization or marginalization...

In this context, the State has put in place programs to eliminate this phenomenon that is harmful to the urban scene, including the "social program", a general process in the framework of fighting against inappropriate housing for shanty dwellers in the neighborhood of Mohammadi. The number of beneficiaries was estimated in 1804 and the number of beneficiaries of land plots was 51 families²⁵. The total area of the social program project²⁵ was extended to 50 H, which was characterized by horizontal construction and a built-up area that did not exceed the ground floor (basement), making it an important area of

²⁵- *Ministère de l'habitat (Délégation de la préfecture de Ben M'sik : compte rendu de la réunion du comité de suivi des projets de Sidi moumen et Almassira 02/01/1984)*

the province's real estate reserve. However, the technical departments of the province and the Casablanca Urban Agency Beneficiaries in 1987 to build two floors. It is noticeable through this program that the beneficiaries are not resident of Sidi Moumen but of the neighborhood Mohammedi, did not take the interests of housing considered the inhabitants of tin Sidi Momen only in 1989.

In addition to this program, the area of Sidi Moumen district was opened to the "economic housing" program. The "ELKARYA" is the oldest segmentation of the province's territory and is characterized by its important density and is dominated by the construction of a class (basement + 3 floors) and the basement is allocated for economic activities; Economic development that began in the 1980s and is concerned with the fragmentation of the "Rakput" and the fragmentation of Duma. In general, the land policy by housing in the province of Sidi Moumen, which characterized the eighties in the territory of the province, but the beneficiary population was outside the province and this intervention added significant population size for its benefit, which shows that the province is not represented in the urban management of the urban community of Casablanca, A field that can be called a relief outlet to resolve the crisis of the other provinces. This assertion is that the provinces have experienced a fluctuation in their administrative and administrative management among other provinces before they are self-governing, ranging from Ain el-Sab'a, Sidi Othman, To Bernousi, which means that to resolve the district crisis of these provinces were attached to them, and us in the social program put forward declaratory and confirmed by "Attacharok" project, Which was a sub-district of the Moulay Rachid district to house the inhabitants of the Ben Misk district and part of the population covered by the Royal Court Project.

However, after the events that took place in the city on 16/05/2003, there was an intervention by the state in the framework of emergency solutions and the security approach. In the framework of the Cities without Slums program, this intervention in the province comes in the context of the final eradication of the tin pockets. The total cost of the Essalam Project 1 was estimated at 336 million dirhams on a real estate pot estimated at 60 H for the housing of the Al-Sakwila roundabout. This process is reset to With a total population of 2,300 and a total of 2,300 families. The total number of beneficiary families reached 5800 families²⁶ from the village of Al-Sakawila. The project, which was estimated at a total cost of 446 million dirhams, was estimated at 70 hectares. "The estimated number of households is about 5000 families in 2050 spots, and the beneficiaries of the project will receive an area of 84 m² to create a dwelling of ground floor and 3 floors for each of the two slaughterhouses. The price of the ground unit is set at 70.000 dirhams, , And to maintain the balance of the project caused patches of And a lost balance for the special plants, as well as patches for industrial purposes, and the urbanization group is the cost of the completion of public equipment.

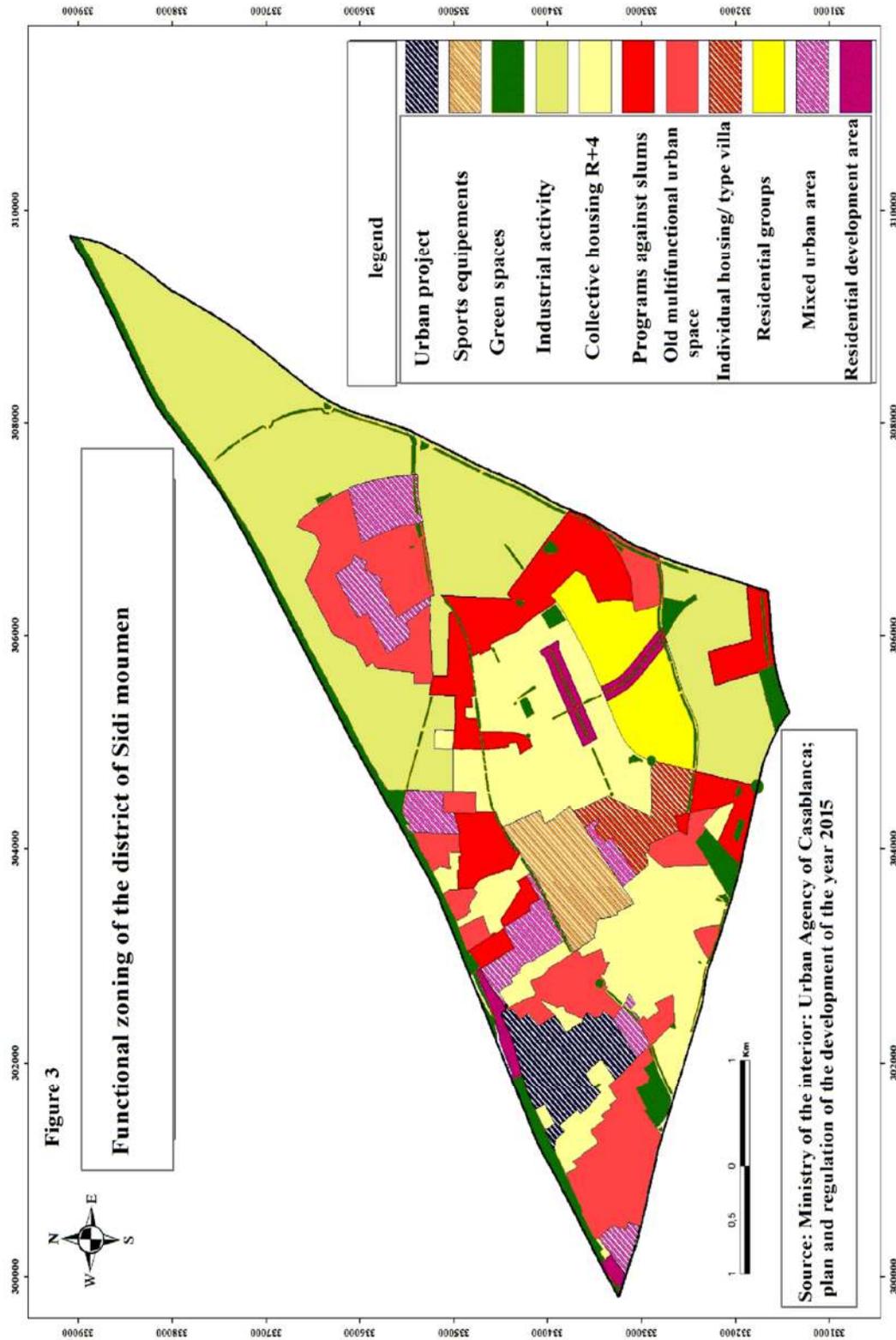
Thus, the Al'omran Group constituted a new phase in the history of the elimination of inadequate housing, not only in the Sidi Moumen district, but also in the whole of the Kingdom, overcoming the mistakes of the previous integrated institutions. The residential issue in all its dimensions, Since 2003, and after the events of May of the same year, the Charter has been reinstated through housing and economic housing programs, but administrative imbalances, particularly through the re-housing process to eliminate inadequate and slum housing Night of contradictions and inequities in the authorities' approach. In fact, these operations have certainly helped to raise living standards by integrating two or three families into the same R + 3 housing unit, which may exacerbate neighborhood tensions among the population.

5.3 URBAN REHABILITATION OF SIDI MOUMEN PROVINCE: INTEGRATED URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE LIGHT OF THE CURRENT URBANIZATION PLAN

There is a dialectical link between economic, social, political and cultural development. Therefore, it is not possible to talk about the development of land without bypassing the sectoral approach to reach an integrated comprehensive view. The development of land is a horizontal development based on the concept of the field, and thus constitutes a coherent unit or framework in which initiatives intersect What is economic, social and cultural, and enrich local initiatives.

Thus, land development can be conceived as a crossroads for the intervention of three actors at the grassroots level: the State, the private sector and the local / territorial community itself; it is capable of coordinating these interventions in order to create harmony between them, avoid wasting energies in repetitive processes, Which is ultimately reflected in overall development negatively.

²⁶ مجموعة التهيئة العمران الدار البيضاء : 2016



A quick observation of the functional area of the Sidi Moumen district (fig 3) shows that the area of the province is characterized by a dense presence of housing and housing programs that seek to rehabilitate it and make it to meet the aspirations of the national territorial policy, which in its comprehensiveness will improve the quality of the areas and enhance its polarization capabilities for investments. The new goal of making Casablanca a global city; this new approach to the territorial policy of the city of Casablanca imposed the allocation of the province of Sidi Moumen from among the provinces

that accounted for an important share of collective equipment according to a standard network linking the population size and type of trade Hays mass provided for each population.

The modernization and upgrading of the city necessarily affects the marginal neighborhoods of Casablanca, for which the discourse has not changed substantially. The Urban Planning Directive (2008) highlights the attractiveness and unacceptability of these neighborhoods, and it has been done to continue the elimination of the estimated 50,000 slums as well as the prevention of the growth of illegal neighborhoods. At the same time, the planning policy envisages rehabilitation and raising the margin level in the Sidi Moumen district. These guidelines are accompanied by a speech in which social cohesion is well placed; reducing the spatial inequalities in the city is a major issue in the spatial configuration. The spatial-social structure that emerges through the implementation of housing and completed or ongoing projects reveals an accommodating city. The housing for resettlement of indigent residents has been implemented according to the availability of land, often leading to the displacement of beneficiaries from work areas and central centers, partial separation and coexistence in neighborhood conflicts for the middle and upper classes.

There is no doubt that this logic refers to the social and political organization of a quiet and attractive image of the city rather than the real social integration of the population concerned. This supposed shift from social integration to political organization was initiated in the 1970s. Jobs and small trades. In this case, regulation by Reynaud builds independence, and these processes associated with re-housing and equipment designed to control these neighborhoods continued (fig 3).

This career extension will undoubtedly have a social-geographical impact on these areas. Reading urban policy in Casablanca highlights the fact that the real estate potential of Sidi Moumen is among the sites that hosted many of the first decade of the 21st century; Do not pass according to the expectations of the authorities, where social effects remain "blind space"²⁷ in the institutional thinking, where the state's investment towards the completion of equipment and housing. From this perspective, the search for the achievement of land development requires the preparation of a plan for the restructuring of land from a systematic series in which the central space allows for new patterns of organization and territorial performance based on granting independence and a deeper responsibility for the total of local public actors, and is based on motivating these actors to push the process Development to its fullest extent²⁸.

This conceptual preamble refers to a fundamental question of the planning, planning and guidance processes of the Sidi Moumen district as urban rehabilitation inputs for this area, and the functional project of this area as outputs within the scope of the territorial policy and the limits of these outputs according to their uses. which is next:

Table 2. Existing equipment programmed according to the design of Sidi Moumen district

Type of equipment	Existent	Programmed	Total
Public place	2	12	14
Green spaces	60	150	210
Education			
Primary	51	20	71
Middle school	22	13	35
Secondary	15	0	15
Professional formation center	3	10	13
Health	17	12	29
Mosque	33	9	42
Sport	16	4	20
graveyard	4	1	5
Equipements of general interest	96	21	116
Total	319	252	570

Source: Ministry of Interior; Urban Agency of Casablanca; regulation of development plan of the district of Sidi moumen 15/07/2015

²⁷- Lefebvre .H (1970) : *La révolution urbaine*. Paris. Gallimard, 248 p. p 68

²⁸- أجلاب رشيد(2011) : مرجع سبق ذكره. ص.ص: 10-11

The network of equipment included in the design is important for educational equipment, green spaces and sanitary equipment. However, expectations are less than what exists, and even existing has been known to be late. Imposes itself sharply on the actors in the affairs of architecture.

In general, when examining the public equipment through the design of the configuration, it is possible to draw conclusions that reflect the interrelationship between the public equipment and the expected distribution of the population and the needs of the potential population, Especially as this area embraces a reservoir of labor, which the state seeks to provide conditions for qualification and shows this through the table and the statement below:

Table 3. Occupational status of workers in Sidi Moumen province (%)

Professional status	Male	Females	Total
Employee	3,1	1,5	2,7
Independent	26	10,2	22
Public sector hired	8,2	7,9	8,1
Private sector hire	58,8	78,5	63,8
Family assistant	0,7	0,6	0,6
Apprentice	0,7	0,3	0,5
Associate	2,2	0,7	1,8
Else	0,4	0,4	0,4

Source: High Commissioner for Planning: General Population Statistics 2014

The table shows the importance of the private sector, which represents 63.8%, followed by the importance of the independents category by 22%, which confirms the hypothesis of the reserve labor force and the general orientation of the state to confirm the status quo qualification and development, The orientation is the strategic vision choices for educational reform that provide for the professional approach to educational reform.

The expected development of the public equipment is in the direction of weaving intensive relations between the neighborhood equipment, and the perception of the distribution of the sites of programmed public facilities has been mentioned in addition to the orientations of the urban planning guideline, other elements, including the demographic and the spatial components, (fig.4 and fig. 5), especially since this sector is suited to the functions of industry and housing density, which made a share of the vocational training institutes is characterized by a large presence as programmed 10 units while the existing ones do not exceed 3 units; and deduce from it the functional distribution of the field of Casablanca inherited from the drawings and designs of the previous configuration continuity.

The policy on internal urban margins combines the logic of social organization with the need to frame and control these areas for security reasons. Without integrating this area into the urban fabric of the city as a whole, the hidden links between marginalization and struggle for control of these places by the Authority Since the 1970s and the discriminatory nature of the organization of the field on the growth of this region randomly but the desire for change which are this area was associated with the functional restructuring and modernization of Casablanca, is in fact the willingness of the public authority to restore this The region from the perspective of security control through housing.

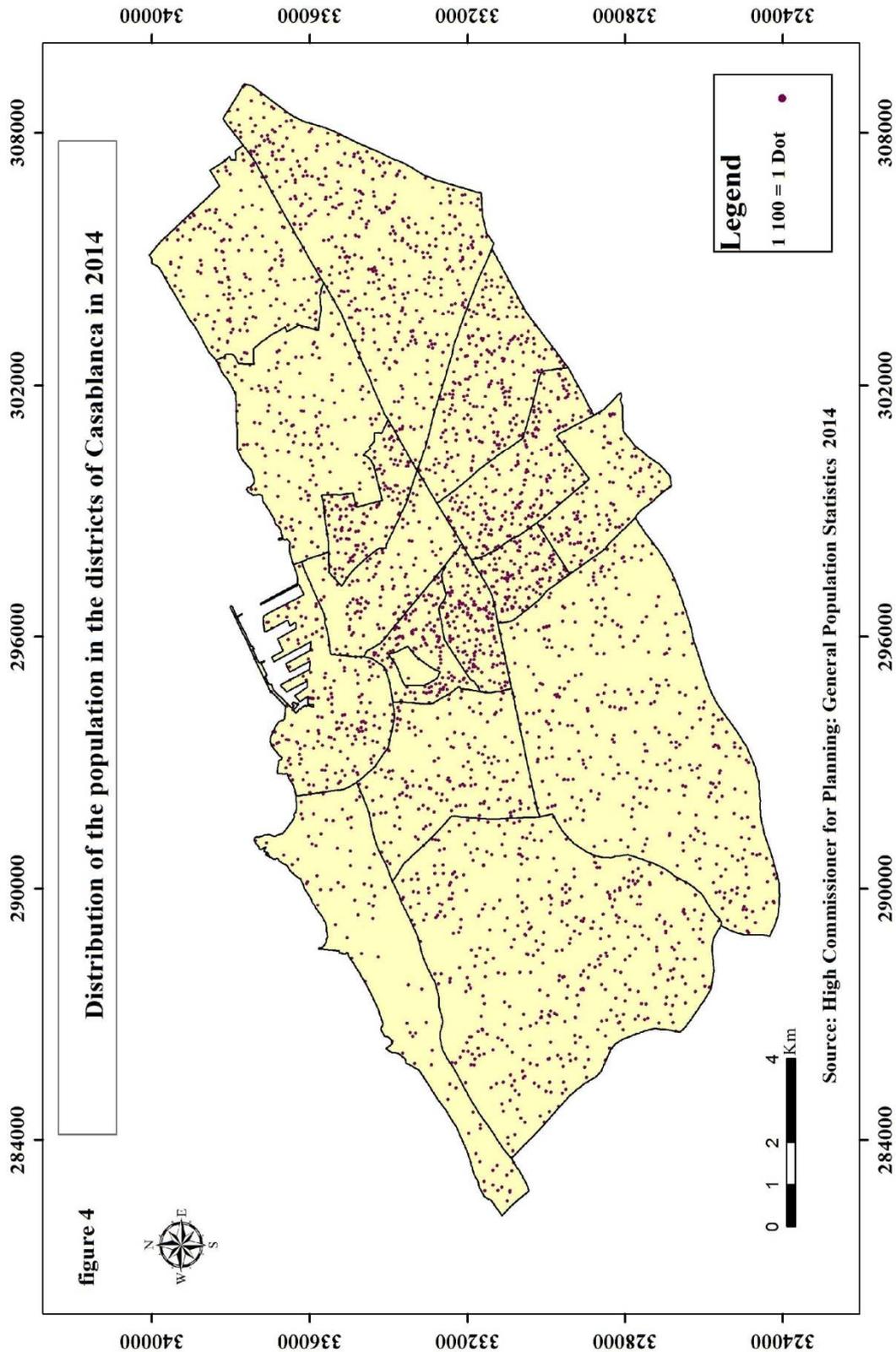
This functional characteristic of the Sidi Moumen district has made it a marginal area. The process of speeding up the resurgence of slums has been a continuation of the urban policy that has characterized the Casablanca area since the period of protection. The design did not overlook the measurement of administrative units with a security nature to control the population.

This situation, marked by structural contradictions at the level of the colonial document and the reality, was not immune to the power to contain the population in the framework of economic, social and political projects.

6 CONCLUSION

This study shows that urban rehabilitation by means of land policy in a city such as the city of Casablanca and especially its internal urban margins necessitates recalling the history of urban experiments in the city in order to understand the dominant backgrounds in the organization and structure of the area. And a window of relief to solve the crisis of the center and the courage of the rehabilitation that the state seeks to achieve from the perspective of control in the field and control the

population through programs of social housing in the framework of the policy of housing, creating a spatial distinction between the center and the margin.



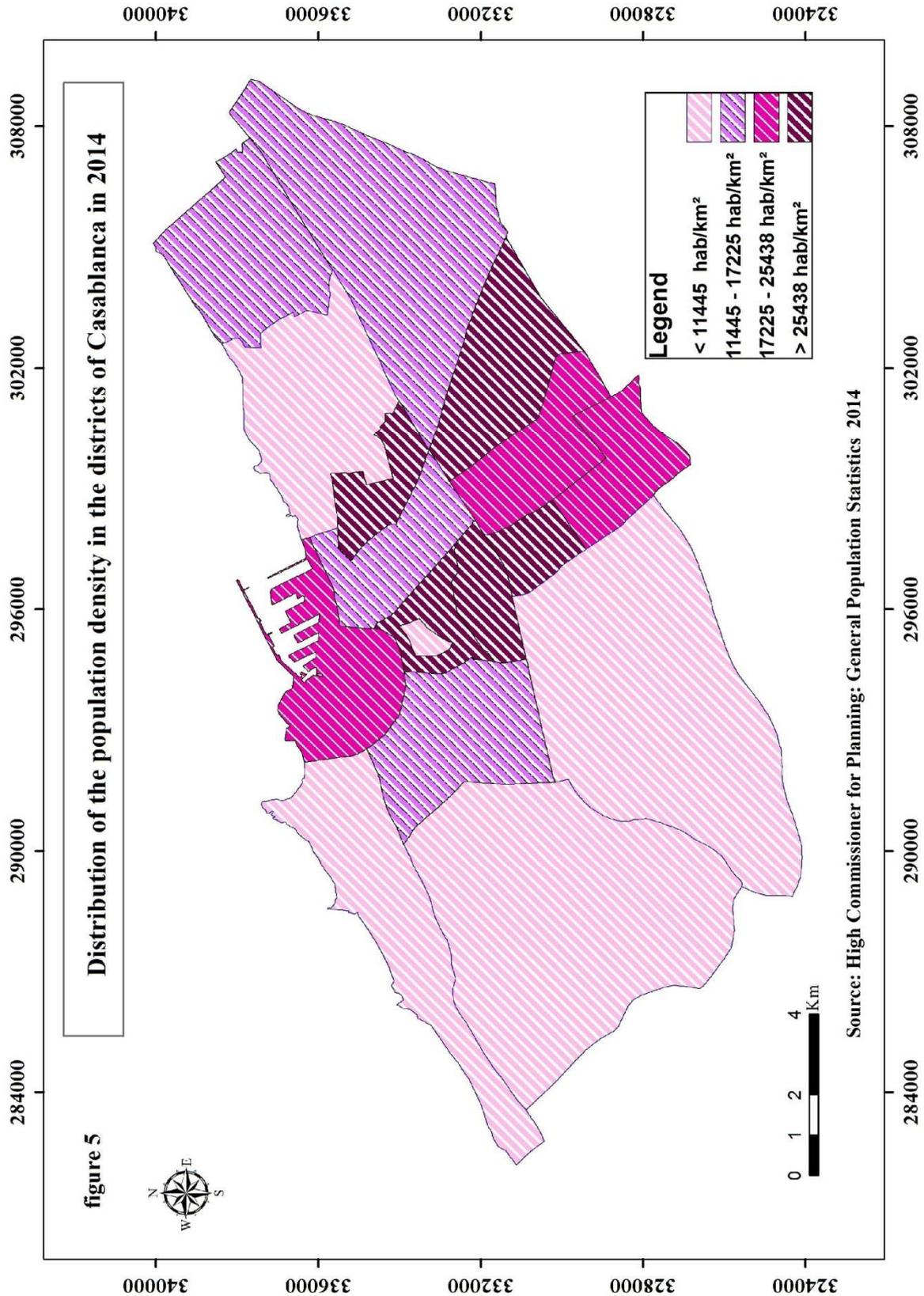


figure 5

However, the analysis of this policy and the policy of the state in the area of Casablanca reveals a structural crisis wandering the city, a crisis inherited from the colonial period, made the city live deficit and the problem of the city's urban deficit and its internal margins is a complex problem and multiple levels of planning, And the Tiberia, made it move from the level of the crisis

of disposition to the level of disposition in a crisis. Parallel to the features described in this marginal province and in its neighborhoods, they generally reflect tacit tolerance. The scholars have understood many of the links between the marginalization of the Territory and its subsequent exploitation. However, the marginalization of illegal neighborhoods can also be interpreted as a category of public actions that guarantee Maintain a certain social peace and maintain in all cases its control.

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